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J. C. Robertson
Canterbury 1870.

ANTIQUITIES

OF THE SHIRES OF

ABERDEEN AND BANFF.

ILLUSTRATIONS

OF THE

TOPOGRAPHY AND ANTIQUITIES

OF THE SHIRES OF

ABERDEEN AND BANFF.

Edd. by
Geo. Grant and
Jas. Robertson

THE FIRST VOLUME

ABERDEEN:
PRINTED FOR THE SPALDING CLUB
MDCCCLXIX.

ABERDEEN: PRINTED BY ARTHUR KING AND COMPANY.

The Spalding Club.

DECEMBER, MDCCCLXIX.

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TABLE OF CONTENTS.

	PAGE.
THE EDITOR'S PREFACE,	i
NOTE,	lxxi
INDEX OF PLACES,	1
INDEX OF PERSONS,	71

THE EDITOR'S PREFACE.

In the year 1843, a volume of "Collections for a History of the Shires of Aberdeen and Banff," edited by Mr. Joseph Robertson, was printed by the Spalding Club, at the expense of the Earl of Aberdeen. Of that volume, the editor remarked in his preface—"However crude or unsatisfying the contents of the following "sheets may appear to those who are accustomed to the more "copious and elaborate 'County Histories' of England, so much "has a useful and not unpleasing field of literature been neglected "in the northern part of the island, that, perhaps, the present is "the most extensive collection of materials which has yet issued "from the press to illustrate the antiquities and topography of any "Scottish Shire."

The "Collections" formed only a portion of the materials available for the illustration of the history of the two counties. The Report by the Council of the Club to the eighth annual general meeting of the members, held on the 22d of December, 1846, contains the following passage:—"A Volume of Illustrations of "the Topography and Antiquities of the Shires of Aberdeen and "Banff, edited by Joseph Robertson, Esquire, has been for some "time at press, and but for accidental circumstances which "hindered the printer from fulfilling his engagement, would have "been finished before this period. It will be issued early in the

"year 1847. The materials placed at the editor's disposal, chiefly "from the charter-rooms of ancient families within the two counties, "have so far exceeded expectations, that it has been found neces-"sary to divide the work into three volumes. The second of these, "containing the beginning of the text, will appear first; the third, "giving the conclusion of the text, the appendix, and a copious "index (as well to this work as to the Collections for a History of "the Shires of Aberdeen and Banff), will appear next; and the "first volume, occupied with a lengthened preface, and its docu-"mentary illustrations, will be delivered last of all." The volume first referred to in the foregoing extract appeared in 1847; another volume, conducted through the press by Mr. Francis Shaw, under the editorial superintendence of Mr. Robertson, was published in 1857; and an additional volume, edited by Mr. Robertson, was published in 1862. The three volumes, in conformity with the plan above indicated, are called in the title pages, the second, third, and fourth volumes of the Illustrations. The extent of the work had exceeded the editor's original anticipations, and he was never able to prepare the Preface, which, with its documentary illustrations, was to have formed the first volume in name, and the last in the order of publication.

At the Annual Meeting of the Club in December, 1866, which took place soon after Mr. Robertson's lamented decease, the writer of these pages was requested to prepare a Preface to the Collections and Illustrations, containing a biographical notice of the Editor.

Joseph Robertson, the only son of Joseph Robertson and Christian Leslie, was born in the Woolmanhill, Aberdeen, on the

17th day of May, 1810. The father, who was descended from a family which for generations had resided in the parish of Leochel, carried on a small mercantile business in Aberdeen, where he died in the year 1816. His son, and his only other child, a daughter, now the wife of Mr. M'Combie, of the *Free Press*, Aberdeen, were left dependent for support on the exertions of their mother, who through her industry and economy was enabled to bring them up respectably. Joseph was sent to the school of Udny, then enjoying a high reputation under the teaching of Dr. Bisset. From Udny he went to the Grammar School of Aberdeen, and from thence to Marischal College. At these various institutions, his reputation as a scholar appears not to have been much above the average, but his high spirit and affectionate disposition won for him the liking of his fellow-students and the respect of his masters. Dr. Bisset continues to speak of him with the utmost warmth of regard; and Robertson never referred to his early teacher without expressions of gratitude and esteem.

When about sixteen years of age, Robertson entered the office of Mr. James Simpson, Advocate in Aberdeen, with the view of following out the law as a profession. Mr. Simpson, one of the best provincial lawyers of his day, was also a man of good literary taste and acquirements, and his apprentice imitated him in the latter rather than in the former character. Robertson's most intimate associate at that time was Mr. John Hill Burton, then also a law student in Aberdeen, and the friendship thus begun continued during life. It was in the latter period of his apprenticeship that I became acquainted with him, meeting him frequently during our leisure hours, which in those days were pretty ample,

and joining with him in the debates of an association of young men of the legal profession known as the Society of Writers. At the meetings of this body he was a regular attender, and spoke on almost every subject with great fluency, and with a fulness and accuracy of information for which he was even then remarkable.

When the discussions on the Reform Bill began, Robertson gave up his other professional pursuits, and threw himself with enthusiasm into the contest; writing pamphlets, and taking a leading part in the local struggles. Like most of the educated young men in Aberdeen at that time, he was an ardent Tory, but his Toryism differed as much from that of the elderly citizens who professed what had then become an unpopular creed, as it did from the opinions of the rising Liberal party. It was chiefly derived from a careful study of the writings of Coleridge and Wordsworth, and an ardent admiration for the poems and romances of Scott. His political principles, though modified in some points, were never changed.

He continued to cultivate the literary studies to which he had now resolved to devote himself, and paid particular attention to Scottish history and antiquities. The first number of a monthly periodical, under the name of The Aberdeen Magazine, was published in January, 1831, by Mr. Lewis Smith, and the work was continued for two years. Robertson was not the projector of the work, nor, strictly speaking, its editor, but his contributions were more numerous and important than those of any other person. I have been favoured with the perusal of a copy of the Magazine, in which he had entered the names of all the contributors opposite their articles in the index. A whole generation has elapsed since

that time, and the names of the other writers can now excite little interest. His own contributions are the following, taken in the order of the index:—in the first volume, A Tale of the Broadgate; A Day among the Hills; Aberdeen Worthies; Demonology; Deeside; The Foreign Quarterly Review; Horace Smith and the National Library; Ivan Vejeghen; Logan on the Celts; Letters to Certain Persons; Lochlee; The Old Scottish Ballads; Parallel Passages; Stray Thoughts; Saint Andrews; The Gazetteers versus Aberdeen; The Last of the Pights: and in the second volume, Aberdeen Worthies; A Page Omitted in Historical Parallels; A Few Words from a Tory in Answer to a Classical Reformer; Deeside; Dr. Browne on the Highlands; Facetiæ Aberdonenses; Horæ Antiquariæ; Mysticism of Modern Poetry; Nugae Nicotianæ; Remarks on Some Recent Writers on Scottish History; Singular Ghost Story.

Several of these articles show learning and ability beyond what are generally found in magazines of higher reputation, while in some—that on Demonology for instance—an extent of miscellaneous reading appears, which is astonishing in a writer not more than twenty-two years of age. His taste for Scottish historical antiquities, and the knowledge he had already acquired on that subject, are indicated by the papers on Logan and Browne, and the remarks on writers on Scottish History. Other articles show that the author's occupations were not entirely of a sedentary character. The papers on Deeside mark an intimate acquaintance with the topography and scenery of the Aberdeenshire Highlands, that could only have been acquired in those long pedestrian journies for which he was remarkable in his early days, and which

he retained a liking for to the very last. At this period also, he was a frequent contributor, chiefly in the shape of literary criticism, to the *Aberdeen Observer*, a newspaper of which his friend the late Mr. William Duncan was one of the editors.

In 1831, Mr. Lewis Smith published a "Guide to the Highlands of Deeside, by James Brown." The work is noticed in Robertson's article on Deeside in the Aberdeen Magazine of June, 1831, and a ludicrous comparison is made between its merits and those of a "Tour on the Banks of the Dee" by Alexander Laing, which thus concludes:—"Honesty compels us to "recommend Mr. Brown's little book as the best; it is much "more intelligible, more comprehensive, more amusing, and more "useful. Mr. Laing's volumes are not by any means to be sneezed "at, but neither are they at all comparable to Mr. Brown's. "If the reader chooses, of course he may buy both; but if he be "to purchase one only, let him pay his shilling for a copy of the "'Guide to the Deeside Highlands,' which we pronounce to be "the model of a guide-book." This praise was well deserved, though Robertson, like a greater Scotsman on one occasion, was here reviewing his own work. The nominal author was at that time the driver of a car on Deeside, and afterwards was keeper of the Greyfriars' Churchyard, Edinburgh. I understand that subsequently to Robertson's decease he claimed the work as his own. The true state of matters is thus explained by Mr. Smith in his preface to the edition of 1868,—"Since this edition of the Deeside "Guide went to the press, the reputed author, James Brown, has "passed away, and the publisher feels that now when he alone is "left to tell the tale, it may be interesting to know who actually

" were engaged in getting up the little work. Brown was the infor-
" mant of the real author, the late Joseph Robertson, who, in his
" early days amused himself writing the Guide in the quaint
" manner of Brown—the greater part of it being written in the
" schoolmaster's house at Ballater. . . . The Guide was also
" indebted to the late John Ferres, Advocate, for the 'Letters
" from Panninich,' first published in the *Aberdeen Censor*, and to
" the late William Duncan for the 'Baron of Pitfoddels.'"

In the year 1833, Robertson went to Edinburgh, and found literary employment of various kinds, chiefly in connection with the publications of Oliver and Boyd. Their "Cabinet Library" was then in progress, and for that collection, it has generally been stated that he wrote a volume which appeared in 1836, entitled "An Historical Account of the Circumnavigation of the Globe, and of the Progress of Discovery in the Pacific Ocean, from the voyage of Magellan to the death of Cook." This, however, is incorrect. He was not the author of the volume, but he bestowed considerable time and labour in preparing it for the press. The work was to have been completed by a second part, and in 1843 there was published, in the same collection, a volume containing "Voyages round the World, from the death of Captain Cook to the present time, &c.," but Robertson was not in any way connected with it. The fifth volume of the Cabinet Library contained "The Lives and Voyages of Drake, Cavendish, and Dampier." A third edition of that volume, which was published in 1837, was revised and annotated by Robertson.

In 1839, he wrote, or rather compiled, a little volume which was published at London in the following year, under the title

"Deliciæ Literariæ, a new volume of Table Talk." In his address to the Reader, he says, "The novelty and interest of collections "of this kind must, in a great measure, depend on the course and "extent of the author's reading; the present compiler has at least "endeavoured to avoid the more common sources from which famous "writers of Ana have gathered their materials. That he has often "drawn from fountains of Scottish history and literature, will not, "he trusts, be deemed a fault by those into whose hands his work "is most likely to fall."

Much more important is "The Book of Bon-Accord, or a Guide to the City of Aberdeen," which was published at Aberdeen in 1839. This volume gives, in a condensed form, a portion of the collections which he had been making for years regarding the history and topography of his native city. No Scottish burgh has been described with equal wit, learning, and ability. There is only one drawback, but it is a serious one. The work is incomplete, a second and concluding volume, which was to have followed, never having appeared. Among the most interesting parts of the book, are the biographical notices of distinguished Aberdonians.

In 1839, and soon after the publication of the work last mentioned, he left Edinburgh and returned to Aberdeen, on his being appointed editor of *The Constitutional*, a weekly newspaper which had been established some years before, for the maintenance of Conservative principles. He discharged his editorial duties with the same faithfulness and ability which he showed in more congenial labours, but he looked out for the means of occupying his leisure hours in what was to become his peculiar vocation. Before the end of the year, he had, in conjunction with his friend

Mr. John Stuart, planned and carried out the formation of a society for promoting in the north-eastern counties of Scotland those objects which the Bannatyne and Maitland Clubs were accomplishing in the south. Such was the commencement of the Spalding Club.

The first work issued by the club was a "History of Scots Affairs from 1637 to 1641, by James Gordon, Parson of Rothiemay," which was printed in three volumes in 1841, under the joint editorship of Robertson and myself. In those early days of youthful hope it was a sufficient inducement to me to engage in the work, that my name was to be associated with his. The book itself is the impartial and accurate, though somewhat tedious narrative of four years of one of the most important periods in Scottish history. The notes are of great value as illustrating that period, and have been a storehouse of materials to subsequent writers. This I may say quite freely, as my own share in them was very small.

As already mentioned, Robertson, in 1843, edited for the Spalding Club the volume of Collections on the Shires of Aberdeen and Banff, and in 1847, 1857, and 1862, the three volumes of Illustrations. In 1859 he edited for the club "Passages from the Diary of General Patrick Gordon, of Auchleuchries." Gordon was one of the most distinguished of those Scottish soldiers of fortune whose names were long better known on the Continent than in the land of their birth. His military skill was of a very high order, and he regretted that it had not been employed in the service of the last king of the house of Stewart, to whom he was attached by the tie of a common religion. As his editor remarks,

"We may well believe that the hand which crushed the Strelitzes "would have been heavy on the Cameronians; it may be that "the walls of Derry would have fallen before the conqueror of "Asof; and the ready counsel and daring acts which twice saved "the throne of Peter the Great, might have upheld the rule even "of King James the Second." Robertson did as much as could be done for the Diary, but the work was not so interesting as he probably anticipated when he undertook the task. Gordon did not use the pen so effectively as he had wielded the sword. In the fifth volume of the Miscellany of the Spalding Club, which was published in 1852, Robertson wrote a treatise full of the most curious historical and ecclesiastical learning "On Scholastic Offices in the Scottish Church in the Twelfth and Thirteenth Centuries."

His time at Aberdeen was usefully occupied in the manner which has been mentioned, and was cheered by the society of several valued friends besides those already named. Among them few held a higher place in his esteem and affection than the late Mr. John Dunn, Advocate, and Mr. Ligertwood, now Sheriff-Clerk of Aberdeenshire. But he knew that he was fitted for better employment, and he was not sorry to avail himself of what seemed a step in that direction when he was requested to accept the editorship of another Conservative newspaper—the *Glasgow Constitutional.* He removed to Glasgow in 1843 to enter on his new appointment, and on the 17th of July in that year was married to Anne, daughter of Mr. John Lanham, formerly of the Wilts and Dorset Bank.

Robertson's labours at Glasgow were much the same as at Aberdeen, but they were better remunerated, and lightened by the

happiness of domestic society. His newspaper was carefully and successfully edited, and the Book Clubs gave constant occupation to his leisure hours. His life was a busy and cheerful one, and he particularly enjoyed those portions of the year, which he was able to spend at a pleasant residence in Argyleshire.

He had not been long settled in the western metropolis, before the Maitland Club availed itself of his services. In 1846, he edited a volume for that Society, containing the chartulary of the Collegiate Church of St. Mary and St. Anne in Glasgow, and the Charters of the Black Friars of Glasgow. The documents contained in the volume were printed with his usual scrupulous accuracy. The preface, a long and interesting one, shewed his thorough knowledge, not only of the mere technicalities of old charters, but of the ancient ecclesiastical history of Scotland. It was the first of his writings which indicated this knowledge, and on that account deserves special notice. It is divided into two parts, the first referring to the Collegiate Church, the second to the Black Friars. In the first part, the account of the Church of St. Mary and St. Anne throws the most distinct light on the general constitution and objects of Collegiate Churches for secular clergy. A careful study of it would prevent those absurd mistakes, which writers, otherwise well-informed, still occasionally make regarding such institutions, confounding them with the houses of the monastic orders. It was one of Robertson's peculiarities, that he seldom came across any curious historical incident or character, without stopping to tell his readers all that he knew, so far as it never had been told before. This was sometimes carried to excess, but few antiquaries will be disposed to visit the transgression with heavy

censure. An illustration is afforded by two notes in this part of the preface to his Glasgow volume, one explaining the history of St Kentigern, the other, that of the Saint's mother, St. Thenaw. A brief quotation from the latter may be given. After mentioning that the street, now so well known as the Trongate, was anciently called St. Thenaw's Gate, from a chapel dedicated to her, and situated near its western extremity, he adds, "St. Thenaw's chapel sur-"vived the year 1597, and some traces of it were to be found so "recently as the beginning of the last century. Wodrow records "that it was then called 'Saint Tennoch's;' a name which, in the "mouths of a people more familiar with the prophets of the ante-"diluvian world, than with the saints of the dark ages, was in no "long time changed into that of 'Saint Enoch,' now given to a "church and square, not far from the site of the edifice which "marked the resting place of the royal matron who gave birth to the "Apostle of Cumbria." The second part of the preface is still more valuable. It illustrates not only the history of the Black Friars of Glasgow, but that of the order generally throughout Scotland. This narrative is as unique as it is interesting. No similar account has yet been given of the Scottish monasteries of the Franciscan and Carmelite orders. I doubt whether any one is capable of doing for them what has here been done for the Dominicans.

Robertson edited the first part of the fourth volume of the Miscellany of the Maitland Club, which was published in 1847. It contains a number of documents illustrated with his usual erudition. His tendency to enlarge on the subject before him—to give what Fuller calls "the preface of a mile to bring in a furlong of matter," is indicated by one of the articles in this volume. It is a letter of

Archbishop Leighton's resigning the see of Glasgow, and is printed in three lines, while the editor's notice of it extends to four pages. He was also selected by the Maitland Club to edit the Records of the University of Glasgow. The general outline of the work was planned by him, and a portion of the first volume was printed under his superintendence. About the same time, he assisted in preparing a part of the first volume of the Origines Parochiales Scotiæ.

His character as a scholar and as an antiquary was now established, and he was requested by Mr. Lockhart to write an article for the *Quarterly Review* on the architectural antiquities of Scotland. He complied with the request, and the result was one of the best-known of his writings—the paper on Scottish Abbeys and Cathedrals, which appeared in the *Quarterly Review* for June 1849. On this article, as he himself then informed me, he bestowed much time and labour. No one, at all acquainted with the subject, can read it without seeing that this must have been the case, but the toil was well bestowed. It is one of the finest specimens of its class, and, unlike many papers on similar subjects, its style is as beautiful and appropriate as its matter is interesting and valuable. Commencing with a brief description of the earliest ecclesiastical buildings in Scotland, it proceeds to examine more minutely the structures which arose after the accession of David I. The author dwells with particular pleasure on the Cathedral of the city, where he was now residing. Its traditional connection with St. Ninian and St. Kentigern, its historical associations with Robert Bruce and James the Fourth, the unseemly disputes of the Scottish primates for precedency, the equally unseemly riots after the Reformation, the discussions of the famous Assembly of 1638,

all pass in review. The following are the concluding sentences: —" Glasgow echoed the universal delight which hailed the Resto-
" ration. Yet amid that joyous tumult, a voice was heard from the
" depths of her cathedral crypt, prophesying woe and lamentations—
" Cargill, the rugged confessor of a relentless covenant, sparing not
" to denounce the faithless king even on the first oak-apple day of
" his reign. A few years pass, and in the choir above, the low
" sweet voice of Leighton is heard in those angelic strains of elo-
" quence and devotion which haunted the memory of his hearers
" to their dying day. A few years more, and the Cathedral is
" beset by a surging crowd of Cameronians—fanatic wanderers from
" the hills, whose wrath will not tarry for the slow retribution of the
" law, but who are there, at their own hand, to purge the temple
" of God of 'the prelatical intruders,' as 'dumb dogs,' 'Erastians,
" 'schismatics,' 'covenant-breakers,' and 'soul murderers.' Yet a
" few years more, and probably from the pulpits of the minster, as
" certainly from other pulpits in the town, the people are stirred
" up to armed tumult against that union with England which
" has made their little burgh a great and wealthy city, and covered
" their river with the trade of nations. And now, 'last scene of all,'
" after centuries of neglect, the breaches of St. Kentigern's vene-
" rable High Church have been repaired, and its decayed places
" raised up,—it is swept and garnished—those western portals so
" long closed, are thrown open. Who, in these days of sudden
" and marvellous mutations, shall say for what or for whom they
" wait?"

In the summer of 1849, having been appointed editor of the *Edinburgh Evening Courant*, he was once more a resident in the

Scottish metropolis, and in the immediate neighbourhood of Mr. Cosmo Innes, Mr. Burton, and many other friends. We have the best evidence of the manner in which he discharged his new duties in an article in the *Courant* written soon after his decease. "He "was chosen out of many candidates for the office of editor of this "journal, which had been in commission since the death of Mr. "David Buchanan in 1847. During this virtual interregnum, the "*Courant* had begun to lose somewhat of its old prestige, but on "the accession of Mr. Robertson its prosperity was immediately "restored, and was year by year enhanced during his able manage-"ment." The remuneration which he now received was very good, but the labour was also great, and in 1853 he exchanged his editorial appointment for the office of Searcher of Records for literary purposes, or, as it was afterwards more appropriately named, Curator of the Historical Department in the Register House at Edinburgh. His labours here were very inadequately remunerated, but in other respects the situation was most agreeable, and gave him precisely that sort of work which during many years he had longed for. Speaking of him in an interesting note in the fourth volume of his History of Scotland, Mr. Burton remarks, "Of the kind of work in which his strength lay, he had "that early presentiment, so often the companion of true genius. "Rummaging among old letters, I find signal evidence of "this. He wrote to me on the 7th of August, 1833, saying, 'The "'*ultima Thule* of my desires would be a situation in the Register "'House.' Then, diverging into other plans and possibilities, he "comes back in the end to the same point, 'My desires are "'toward the Register House, and about January I shall make a

" 'set upon it; and, if unsuccessful, then consider what is to be
" 'done next.' He had to wait just twenty years for the fulfilment
" of this dream."

The arrangement of the records under his charge occupied for some years the greater part of his time, but his leisure, as before, was devoted to antiquities and literature, and to the calls which were almost daily made upon him for assistance to those engaged in similar pursuits. It was not from Scotland alone that he had such calls; some of the most distinguished scholars of England, Ireland, and France, were in frequent communication with him. He wrote various papers, chiefly for archæological journals, and contributed an interesting series of articles to Chambers's Encyclopædia. Through the kindness of Dr. Findlater, I am able to subjoin a complete list of the Encyclopædia articles. They are the following:—Archæology; Bajan or Bejan; Bajimont's Roll; Bannatyne Club; Bartizan; Beehive Houses; Bell, Book, and Candle; Bestiaires; Booths, Merchants; Boots or Bootikins; Branks; Brehon Laws; Brets, Law of; Bronze Period of History; Burghs Royal; Burgh of Barony and Regality; Bylaw; Cairns; Celt; Charters, Royal; Chartulary; Chasuble; Clog Almanac; Columba, St.; Columban, St.; Contractions; Courthand; Crannoges; Cromlech; Cruithne; Culdees; Cumyn, Family of; Currach; Cuthbert, St.; Cuthbert of Jarrow; Cuthbert of Canterbury; Cyclopean Architecture; Dalaradia; Dalriada; Date; David I.; Deir, Book of; Diplomatics; Dolmen; Domesday Book; Douglas, Family of; Drowning; Eadmer of Canterbury; Earth Houses; Ecclesiology; Elf Arrowheads; Fillan, St.; Flint Implements and Weapons; Fools, Feast of; Fordun, John of;

Gordon, Family of; Gordon, Patrick; Hamilton, Family of; Harlaw, Battle of; Harry, Blind; Holyrood; Homildon; Inchcolm; Inchkeith; Iona; John O'Groats; Jougs; Keith, Family of; Kelso; Leslie, Family of; Lindsay, Sir David; Macbeth; Maiden; Mary Stewart; Melrose; Mungo, St.; Oghams; Orientation; Ossian; Palaeography; Picts Houses. The contributions to the Encyclopædia would probably have been continued farther, but his energies, during the last years of his life, were chiefly bestowed on the planning and carrying-out an important scheme, to be immediately mentioned, in connection with the records under his charge.

In his busiest hours he always found time to give assistance wherever the calls of duty or friendship seemed to require it. He was a zealous member of the Episcopal Church, and during the disputes which took place in that Communion in 1858, and the two following years, his aid and advice were eagerly sought and warmly appreciated. It is enough to mention here, that his counsels were those of moderation and peace. When tranquillity was restored, and application was made to Parliament to abolish the last remnant of the restrictions which had been imposed upon Episcopalians in Scotland, on account of their attachment to the House of Stewart, the information and assistance which he gave materially contributed to the successful result in the passing of the Act of 1864. In April of that year, he received the degree of Doctor of Laws from the University of Edinburgh; the honour being conferred at the same time on Mr. David Laing and Mr. Burton.

The scheme above alluded to may now be explained. In June

1864, Sir William Gibson-Craig, Lord-Clerk Register of Scotland, requested the attention of the Chancellor of the Exchequer to the expediency of making the records under his charge generally available, by printing a series of Calendars and Chronicles similar to the English series printed under the direction of the Master of the Rolls. In order that the Chancellor might be fully informed on the subject, Sir William submitted to him a Memorandum drawn up by Robertson. The proposal was afterwards laid before the Lords of the Treasury, and after considerable delay, the exertions of the Clerk Register were finally successful. A Parliamentary grant was made towards the expense of the contemplated publications, and Robertson's salary was raised to a sum which made the emoluments of his office more commensurate with the duties devolved upon him.

The Calendars suggested by Robertson were the following:—A Calendar of State Papers of the reign of King James IV. 1488-1513; of the reign of King James V. 1513-1542; of the reign of Queen Mary 1542-1567; of the reign of King James VI. 1567-1625; of the reign of King Charles I. 1625-1649; of the reign of King Charles II. 1649-1685; of the reign of King James VII. 1685-1689; of the reign of King William II. and Queen Mary II. 1689-1702; and of the reign of Queen Anne 1702-1707; and a Calendar of the Register of the Great Seal of Scotland 1424-1707. There were also suggested Photozincographic Facsimiles of some of the most important Scottish Historical documents, and the publication of various Chronicles and Memorials. Among those who were to take part in the proposed series were the Duke of Argyle, Lord Lindsay, Sir William Stirling-Maxwell,

Sir James Simpson, Mr. Cosmo Innes, Mr. David Laing, Mr. William Skene, and Mr. Burton.

The earliest of the volumes which have since appeared, contains the Chronicles of the Picts and Scots, and other early Memorials of Scottish history, and the editor, Mr. Skene, refers in the preface to the advantages he had, throughout the greater part of the work, in Robertson's ready and valuable assistance. The next volume was the first part of Facsimiles of National Manuscripts of Scotland, edited by Mr. Innes. In an introductory note, the Lord-Clerk Register says :—" I intrusted the selection of the documents " to the late Dr. Joseph Robertson, Curator of the Historical De- " partment of the Register House, and the greatest Record scholar " in Scotland; and as that most learned and excellent man died " just as the last of these manuscripts had been photographed, I " desire to associate his name with a work in which he took so deep " an interest, that he was occupied upon it on his death-bed, and " almost to the last hour of his life."

While at Aberdeen and afterwards, he had worked for the Spalding Club, while at Glasgow for the Maitland Club; at Edinburgh his services were equally available for the Bannatyne Club. In 1863 he edited for the last mentioned Society the Catalogues of the Jewels, Dresses, Furniture, Books, and Paintings of Mary Queen of Scots. These Inventories are printed from the originals, and are full of interest to the antiquary. Still more valuable to the historical enquirer is the Editor's Preface, extending over a hundred pages and upwards. This preface, enriched with the most copious notes, illustrates the history of almost every person and event of any importance connected with the reign of Mary.

Its accuracy is as remarkable as its learning; and its impartiality, on a subject so exciting, and which recently has been treated with more than usual bitterness and exaggeration, is equally praiseworthy. The investigations, of which the result is given in some of the notes, must have cost the labour of days or weeks. It was one of his characteristics that he was never satisfied so long as any thing remained to be ascertained on the subject of his inquiries. And this was carried so far as to become a fault.

An example of the minute care which he bestowed on this preface, and an illustration of his general habits which came under my own notice, may be referred to. He wished to find out whether John Leslie, Abbot of Lindores and Bishop of Ross, had been consecrated to his Scottish see, or whether his consecration had taken place after he left Scotland. In June, 1862, Robertson wrote to me—"I raise these doubts because having had occasion to "look into his history in connection with Queen Mary, I find the "following facts:—

"1. 'Joannes commendatarius de Lundoris' sits in the Privy "Council on the 11th of April, 1566."

"2. 'Joannes episcopus Rossensis' sits in the Privy Council on "the 15th of April, 1566.

"3. In a deed upon record, dated at Edinburgh on the 12th of "March, 1566-7, that is 1567, Bishop Leslie designing himself "'Joannes electus ecclesiæ Rossensis," in the body of the deed, "designates himself 'Joannes episcopus Rossensis,' and is styled "by the officer who records the deed, 'Bishop of Ross.'

"But if he was only elect of Ross on 12th March 1567, was "it likely that he was consecrated in Scotland before the Queen's

" abdication in June, 1567 ? And if not consecrated before June, " 1567, was it likely that he was consecrated in Scotland at all ? " Performance of mass was regarded as criminal even from 1560, " much more from the act of 20th December, 1567, ratifying the " questionable act of 1560.

" I should be sorry to think that it would give you as much " trouble to solve these difficulties, as it cost me to discover who it " was that was called ' l'evesque de lenders ' by the Queen. She " writes a bad hand, and her ' lenders ' was read ' venders ' " and ' tenders ' by myself and others, till a happy inspiration " revealed the true reading of ' Lindores ' to me."

I was unable to give him any information on the point, and the result of his inquiries is stated in a note to the Preface, in which he says that " Leslie would seem never to have been consecrated to the see of Ross." Both of us had overlooked a familiar authority —Thomas Innes's Critical Essay, vol. i. p. 291, where it is expressly mentioned that Leslie was consecrated at Rome, while in exile from Scotland.

The notes to his Preface throw light on several of the disputed points connected with Darnley's murder. His intimate acquaintance, not only with the history of the period, but with minute points of genealogy, was here of good service, and enabled him to correct mistakes which had established themselves as portions of the ordinary narratives. One instance may be given. It is well known that Mary left Darnley's chamber at Kirk of Field on the night of the murder to attend a masque at Holyrood, in honour of the nuptials of her French servant Bastian. Almost all writers on the subject, including Malcolm Laing on one side, and Miss Strickland

on the other, assume that Bastian was married to Margaret Carwood, a female bed-chamber woman of the Queen; and "some "scandal and more romance have been built upon an assumption "which a closer scrutiny would have shown to be groundless." Robertson puts the matter right by giving the names of Bastian's wife and Margaret Carwood's husband, and the true date of the marriage of the latter. His intimate acquaintance with the history of the period enables him to discover personal or family predilections which have escaped the attention of others. Thus he connects Buchanan's zeal in the cause of Darnley with the circumstance that the historian was born a liegeman of the House of Lennox, and he notices the still more curious fact that Knox had a sort of sympathy with Bothwell, in consequence of his ancestors having been vassals of the Hepburns. Some may not agree with the opinions expressed or indicated in the Preface; no one probably will question the correctness of the facts.

In describing the treasures of the Queen's Library, Robertson was expatiating on a subject with which he had long been familiar; but it may seem marvellous how he contrived to find his way among the mazes of the *mundus muliebris* of the royal wardrobe and jewellery. The difficulty is so far explained by the fact, that in this part of his labours, in connection with the French Inventories, he availed himself of the assistance of his wife.

It had long been his wish to edit a collection of the Scottish Canons. In August 1845, when the Spottiswoode Society had begun its useful labours, he wrote to me from Glasgow:—"I think "that perhaps the most essentially useful work which the Spottis-"woode could take in hand would be a collection of the ancient and

" modern statutes and canons of the Scottish Church. This is a " work which I should like to try my hand on; but I am not in " communication with any of the Spottiswoode Council." What he had then contemplated, he now in the full maturity of his powers accomplished for the Bannatyne Club; but it was God's will that with it his work should cease. The book appeared in two volumes in the end of the year 1866, under the title—" Con- " cilia Scotiæ—Ecclesiæ Scoticanæ Statuta, tam Provincialia quam Synodalia, quæ supersunt, 1225-1559."

It is almost impossible to speak too highly of this work. The labours of previous writers had to some extent prepared the way for it. Thomas Innes in his Critical Essay had given a brief account of the Scottish Councils. The ancient canons of the thirteenth century, and those of the important Provincial Councils held immediately before the Reformation, had been inserted in Wilkins' Concilia, through the instrumentality of Innes and Ruddiman. Lord Hailes had reprinted the thirteenth century canons with careful notes, and in his Historical Memorials had supplied a fuller and more correct account of the Councils than that contained in the Critical Essay. Mr. Cosmo Innes, in the various Chartularies edited by him, and particularly in the Chartulary of Aberdeen, had given additional materials and information. From these and other available sources, I had attempted in my Ecclesiastical History of Scotland to give a correct list of the Councils, and to explain the nature of the most important canons enacted by them. But Robertson's volumes do more than any of his predecessors had even contemplated. The first contains his Preface, which is really a history of Scottish Councils, illustrated with

that curious learning and rare accuracy in which he had no equal among his contemporaries. In the second volume, the text of the Canons is printed from a laborious collation of all the existing manuscripts. No work of equal importance and merit has yet appeared in connection with our ecclesiastical history in the thirteenth and three following centuries. In the value of the materials, Father Augustine Theiner's "Vetera Monumenta Hibernorum et Scotorum" comes nearest; but the priest of the Oratory is as inferior in accuracy and erudition as he is in judgment and good taste.

The scholar will study the various canons and constitutions of the Scottish Church from the middle of the thirteenth century to the tenth of April, 1559, when the Bishops and Clergy agreed to meet again on Septuagesima Sunday, 1560, little anticipating what was to happen before that day came. The ordinary reader will peruse with more interest the introductory narrative of the first volume. Commencing with a sketch of the early Celtic Synods, and an account of the conferences held by St. Margaret with the Scottish clergy, it proceeds to give full details of the Councils held after the accession of David I. These Councils, in consequence of there being no Metropolitan in Northern Britain, were held under the direct authority of the Pope, acting through his Legates. From the date of the Bull of Honorius III. in 1225, the Clergy were authorised to meet in Provincial Council, without the presence of a Legate, and under the presidency of one of their own Bishops, who bore the title of Conservator. This system continued till the establishment of the archiepiscopal and metropolitan see of St. Andrews in the reign of James III. The persons who met in these

Synods were at first the bishops, abbots, and priors, afterwards the representatives of the chapters and mendicant orders, and finally those of the parochial clergy. The old Scottish Synod, with its elective President, its annual meeting, its limited number of sittings, and the practical control of the temporal power, bore some resemblance to the General Assembly of the Established Church in the present day.

The account which Robertson gives of the Councils immediately preceding the Reformation, shows in a more authentic and impartial form than is elsewhere to be found, the real causes of the ecclesiastical changes which then took place. The chief of these—the ignorance and wickedness of the ecclesiastics—is dwelt upon with great but not undeserved severity. Were any justification required of his remarks, it would be found in the language used by the most learned of his predecessors, the zealous Roman Catholic priest, Thomas Innes.

The Preface is not confined to its immediate subject—the history of Councils. Its author, as his manner was, expatiates in his text, and still more in his ample notes, on every point of interest referred to in the documents before him. Thus we have an account of the ceremonies practised at the inauguration of the Kings of the Scots; of the ancient Taxations of Scottish benefices; of the mission to Scotland of Aeneas Sylvius Piccolomini, afterwards Pope Pius II.; of the institution of Parochial Registers; of the negotiations of Queen Mary at the Roman Court; and of the Culdees, specially those of St. Andrews. The accuracy of his statements, and the minuteness with which they are verified by a reference to authorities, can be appreciated at their true worth only

by those who have had occasion to examine them with something of his own spirit. A few mistakes in the text are corrected by himself, and there is probably not a single one of any consequence which is not so noticed. One unimportant error into which he was led by a wrong reading in Theiner—the reference to a Bishop of Oxford in the thirteenth century—has been pointed out by me in another place.

The date of the Preface to the Concilia Scotiæ is the 26th of June, 1866. To all outward appearance, he was then in possession of the health and vigour which he had long enjoyed. The active habits of his early youth had been to some extent interrupted by the sedentary occupations and hard work of his manhood, but he always delighted to resume them when a brief holiday enabled him to enjoy the pleasures of a country life. At various times he resided during the autumn at Dunoon, at North Berwick, and at Aberdour in Fifeshire, and all who had the happiness of spending a few days with him on such occasions, must have seen how thoroughly he enjoyed himself. To those who sympathised with his favourite pursuits, nothing was more delightful than to accompany him and the members of his family in a visit to some ruined Church or Castle, and to hear from his lips, as few but he could tell, its architectural peculiarities, and all that history or legend had preserved regarding it. He was uniformly cheerful, and his cheerfulness was the reward of constant work and time well spent. A text of the Book of Ecclesiasticus which he sometimes quoted might have been applied to himself:—"To labour and to be content with that a man hath is a sweet life." During the busy portion of his latter years, he preserved his health, which

otherwise might have given way, by occasional walks of considerable length. In the summer months he frequently attended divine service on Sundays at Dalkeith or the restored chapel of Roslyn, and his chosen companion in these journeys was Mr. Irvine of Drum.

In the autumn of 1866 he became aware of some disease in his throat. The ailment at first seemed to be trifling, but the difficulty which he experienced in swallowing his food gradually increased, and was accompanied with general debility. By the advice of his physician, he went to Callander, in Perthshire, with his family. He had been there for a short time, and was beginning to recruit his strength, when he was visited with a sad calamity. His eldest son was thrown down by a railway truck, and died twelve hours afterwards. The father's loss may best be told in his own words, brief and simple as usual with him, written to me on the day of the funeral :—" If God had been pleased to spare him to us, he " would have been a pretty fellow. He was a good affectionate boy, " was improving very rapidly, growing more thoughtful, and show- " ing studious tastes for art and natural science. It is a heavy " heavy blow, but God's will be done."

After some time, Robertson was apparently so far recovered as to be again at work in his well-known apartment in the Register House. I saw him there for the last time in the middle of October, and found him resigned and even cheerful. But the disease, which proved to be malignant tumour in the stomach, again made itself felt in an aggravated form. The last letter I had from him was written on the 24th of November. It contained some historical inquiries, and the handwriting showed no appearance of decaying

strength. Of himself he merely mentioned that he had again been ill, and was mending but slowly.

Immediately after this he was confined to bed. All that medical skill could suggest was done, but it became evident that his end was approaching. He received the information with Christian calmness and courage, and gave directions to his friends as to the settlement of his worldly affairs, and to the associates in his labours as to the literary work in which he was engaged. The provision he had been able to make for his family was sufficiently scanty, and it could not have been otherwise, considering the narrowness of his income. Had it pleased God to prolong his life, the higher salary recently conferred upon him would have been amply sufficient for his needs. It was probably to this he alluded, when he said on his deathbed, "I have steered my bark for a fair harbour, and found myself wrecked at the entrance." During his last illness he was frequently visited by his friend the Bishop of Brechin. In accordance with the directions in the Book of Common Prayer, he expressed his belief in the Articles of the Creed and a true repentance for his past sins, and received the Holy Communion of the body and blood of his Saviour.

He died on the 13th of December, and was buried in the Dean Cemetery. His surviving family were his wife, two sons, and two daughters, the elder of whom was married to Mr Hodson, Surgeon, at Ingatestone, in Essex.

The slender means which he left rendered it necessary to sell his select and valuable Library. The books of a literary man generally throw light on his character, and this was peculiarly the case with Robertson. The printed catalogue not only lets us see what were

his favourite studies, but shows also that his books were not the mere ornaments of his dwelling, but the necessary implements of his vocation. The library contained upwards of two thousand volumes—no great number in the estimation of a wealthy collector—but they were the careful gatherings of a lifetime. The sale occupied four days, and the amount realised was about £800. It may be allowable and interesting in the Preface to an antiquarian Club Book, to mention the names and prices of some of the principal works connected with Scottish history and antiquities, and they may best be taken in their alphabetical order. The Chartulary of Aberbrothock was sold for £1 15s; the Breviary of Aberdeen for £3 3s; the Chartulary of St. Andrews for £2 6s; the Missal of Arbuthnott for £1 9s; the Book of Bon-Accord for £1 14s; Chalmers's Caledonia for £12; Dugdale's Monasticon Anglicanum for £16 16s; the Muniments of the University of Glasgow for £2 14s; Grub's Ecclesiastical History of Scotland for £1 15s; Jamieson's edition of the Bruce and Wallace for £5; Lanigan's Ecclesiastical History of Ireland for £1 16s; Lord Lindsay's Lives of the Lindsays for £2; Queen Mary's Inventories for £3 3s; the Chartulary of Paisley for £10 15s; Petrie's Ecclesiastical Architecture of Ireland for £1 12s; Pinkerton's Vitæ Antiquæ Sanctorum in Scotia for £6; Acts of the Parliaments of Scotland for £5 15s; Origines Parochiales Scotiæ for £3 12s; Concilia Scotiæ for £6; a set of the Spalding Club volumes for £27; a set of the Surtees Society volumes for £22 1s; Wyntown's Chronicle of Scotland for £3 7s 6d.

In the end of the year 1867, the Queen, on the recommendation of the Earl of Derby, granted a pension of £100 to Mrs Robertson

" in consideration of the services of her husband to literature gene-
" rally; and especially in the illustration of the ancient history of
" Scotland."

Robertson's character in private and domestic life was amiable and exemplary. No one was more beloved by his friends, and although his opinions were at times strongly expressed, he probably had not a single enemy. His political principles, from first to last, were those of the Tory party, but they had nothing in them of bitterness or bigotry. The attentive readers of his works will discover that, like most persons connected with the northern province where he was born and educated, he had considerable sympathy with the cause of the White Rose. His religious convictions were deep and sincere—more so than perhaps they seemed to some of his associates. It was not his wont to make a display of them in any case, nor even to allude to them in ordinary conversation. In this he had a full share of that reserve which is—or at least was—a characteristic of the Church to which he belonged.

From his boyhood he had been a hard student, especially in relation to his favourite pursuits. In regard to the history of the various races which inhabited Scotland, he might almost have applied to himself what Gibbon said of his knowledge of the Eastern nations, that before he was sixteen he had exhausted all that could be learned in the English language. As he grew up, he acquired a competent knowledge of Latin and French. The extent of his reading on all subjects connected with Scottish history and antiquities was very great, as any one may see who glances over the notes in his Inventories or Concilia. In his latter days, the books which he perused were chiefly those bearing on his anti-

quarian studies, but it was otherwise in his youth and early manhood. The whole field of English literature was familiar to him; and his acquaintance with the poets and early dramatists in particular was as extensive as his taste was refined and correct.

Few will dispute Robertson's pre-eminent rank among Scottish antiquaries. Of his predecessors, the foremost names are those of Thomas Innes, Lord Hailes, Pinkerton, and Chalmers. Equal to Pinkerton in acuteness, and to Chalmers in industry and research, he excelled them both in learning, impartiality, and good taste. He was as accurate as Hailes, without any share of his narrowness and occasional acerbity and conceit. Probably he would himself have been most pleased to take his place beside Innes. His great work completed what had been begun in the Critical Essay, and in many points of his personal and literary character he was not unlike the Roman ecclesiastic. Neither of them had any portion of the fretful and wrangling humour which has often marked the antiquary; and both left their mark on Scottish history, not only by their own published works, but by the assistance which they gave so freely and ungrudgingly to others.

Mr. Burton, speaking of Robertson in a note in his History of Scotland, to which reference has already been made, observes:—"Many years ago, from the peculiar knowledge he had stored up, "I had set before him, as his special duty, the work which I have "myself attempted in these volumes. The bent of his mind was, "however, rather towards archæology than history; and thus it "may be said that he preferred the science to the art." There can be no doubt that Robertson was the person of his time best qualified to write a history of Scotland: But even if he had undertaken

such a task, and if time sufficient to finish it had been given to him, it may be doubted whether he would ever have brought the work to a conclusion. He was too laboriously and too minutely accurate for a task of such extent. The time which he bestowed on the narrow field of the Concilia Scotiæ is sufficient proof of this. More than once I suggested as a subject for composition a portion of his country's annals, with which he was particularly conversant, and admitting in its treatment almost dramatic unity—the history of Scotland from the accession of Malcolm Canmore to the extinction of the male line of that prince by the death of Alexander III. He seemed to think well of the suggestion, but it is almost needless to say that no attempt was made to carry it out.

It is idle to indulge in speculation as to what might have been done by Robertson. Something may now be said of what he did in the volumes to which these remarks are introductory. The observations which follow neither are, nor profess to be, a substitute for the Preface contemplated by Robertson. Had he been spared to complete his plan, we should have had a treatise on the history and antiquities of Aberdeenshire and Banffshire as thoroughly done, as his Preface to Queen Mary's Inventories or the Concilia Scotiæ. All that is here proposed is to indicate the extent and value of what he was permitted to accomplish, and to mention some of the more important events connected with the history of the two counties.

Rich as our district is in the materials of local history, and peculiar and interesting as that history is in itself, these materials are

to be found in a collective form only in Robertson's volumes. Had the industrious Chalmers been able to finish the task which he undertook in his Caledonia, Scotland would have possessed a work, which, notwithstanding certain obvious defects, would have been unequalled as a storehouse of antiquities and topography. A part of his work—the general description of North Britain—was completed in his first volume. His history of the particular counties began with those nearest to the English Border, and when the third of his goodly quartos, which brought him as far north as the Forth, was published in 1824, he expressed a hope that the whole work would be completed in two years. Chalmers died in 1825, and his collections for our north-eastern counties, in which from his birth and education among us he took a particular interest, have not been given to the public.

Quarter of a century after the death of Chalmers appeared the first volume of the "Origines Parochiales Scotiæ—the Antiquities Ecclesiastical and Territorial of the Parishes of Scotland." It was hoped that this work would, so far as parochial history was concerned, give a complete account of the whole Scottish kingdom. The first volume and the first and second parts of the second volume have been published. Fourteen years have elapsed since the latest of these appeared, and it is understood that there is no prospect of the work being finished. What has been published contains the dioceses of Ross, Caithness, Argyle, the Isles, and a part of Glasgow; it throws no light on those of Aberdeen and Murray.

Two works remain to be noticed—the Statistical Account of Scotland, drawn up by Sir John Sinclair from the communications of

the parish ministers, and the New Statistical Account of Scotland by the ministers of the respective parishes. In the older compilation, the accounts of the parishes of Aberdeenshire and Banffshire, in conformity with the inconvenient arrangement of the work, are scattered through the various volumes; in the later, Aberdeenshire occupies the whole of the twelfth volume, and Banffshire a portion of the thirteenth. The general usefulness of the two Accounts is so great, that it is perhaps unreasonable to complain of their defects, especially in those points to which the writers did not think that their attention was specially called. But errors in compilations of this kind are apt to be repeated by others, and it is therefore proper that they should be pointed out. This has been done, with no unkindly spirit, in an able and amusing article in the *Quarterly Review* for March, 1848. As was to be expected, the most ludicrous mistakes are those connected with the ancient history of Scotland. A south-country minister speaks of St. Michael as "a Saint of "great note in the Romish Breviary, who flourished in the tenth "century;" and a minister of the far north found the burial place of the same saint in his own parish. A Highland minister did not know who the Mary was to whom his church was dedicated, but thought it most likely "she was a descendant of one of the Lairds "of Chisholm." One writer makes Froissart a contemporary of Mary Stewart. In the Old Statistical Account of the parish of Fordun, the minister, speaking of John Fordun, author of the Scoti-Chronicon, says that he was "thought by some to have been "a man of property in this parish, by others, with greater proba-"bility, to have been a monk who resided here." In the New Statistical Account, the following additional information is supplied

regarding the old Chronicler:—"John of Fordun, the Historian, "was either a native of the parish, or resided in it when he wrote "his History of Scotland. He is called by Bede, 'Venerabilis "vir, Dominus Joannes Fordun, Presbyter.'" It is not explained how Bede was able to refer to an author who lived six centuries after himself.

The lack of information in other quarters increases the value of Robertson's volumes. They have all substantially the same object, but the first, which contains the Collections, differs somewhat from the Illustrations. It consists of three parts. The first part is a description of the two counties written in Latin by the well-known Antiquary, Robert Gordon of Straloch, and reprinted from the second edition of Blaeu's Theatrum Orbis Terrarum. The second part is an account of Aderdeenshire, written in the beginning of the eighteenth century by Sir Samuel Forbes of Foveran, and printed from a manuscript in the British Museum. The third part—occupying much the greater portion of the volume—is a View of the Diocese of Aberdeen, written about the year 1732, by Alexander Keith, a clergyman of the Episcopal Church, and printed from a manuscript in the Advocates' Library. This last work, it will be observed, is a view of the *Diocese*, not of the *County*. It therefore follows the ecclesiastical, not the civil boundaries, and while it omits Strathbogie which is in the diocese of Murray, it contains an account of some parishes in Kincardineshire which are situated within the diocese of Aberdeen.

The three works above mentioned form, strictly speaking, the text of the Collections. Straloch's Description is unaccompanied by any editorial notes. Sir Samuel Forbes's Account is illustrated

by notes, chiefly biographical, the largest of which is a careful and instructive notice of David Wedderburn, Master of the Grammar School of Aberdeen. The View of the Diocese of Aberdeen is much more profusely illustrated. Besides, the foot-notes, for the most part topographical and biographical, a variety of documents is appended to the description in the text. The text itself contains an account of the civil divisions of Aberdeenshire, of its Royal Burghs, of the See of Aberdeen and the Bishops, of the Monastic Houses, the University, and the Rural Deaneries forming the ecclesiastical divisions of the Diocese. The rest of the work contains an account of all the parishes in the Diocese, arranged in the order of the Presbyteries.

At the end of the text the writer gives a list of the books, printed and manuscript, used by him in his View. The authorities so quoted, show that the Episcopal clergyman had been a diligent student of works, which even at the present day are by no means frequently perused. The printed volumes are the Aberdeen Breviary, Boece's History, and his Lives of the Bishops of Aberdeen, the work known by the name of Camerarius on the Saints of Scotland, Dempster's Ecclesiastical History, Archbishop Spottiswood's History, Craufurd's Peerage, and Nisbet's Heraldry. Those in manuscript are a Register of Writs relating to the Church of Aberdeen, a Copy of Bagimont's Roll, a Valuation of Aberdeenshire in the reigns of Charles I. and Charles II., Bishop Gavin Dunbar's Epistolare, an Inventory of the Jewels of the Cathedral, some manuscripts of Thomas Orem, "a very inquisitive antiquary in Old Aberdeen," the Chartulary of Aberdeen, and the Missal of Arbuthnot. The writer's Jacobite opinions occasionally come

out, as, for instance, in his account of the parish of Kildrummie, where he speaks of "the estate of John, Duke of Mar, forfeited A.D. 1716, by the Duke of Brunswick." The editor's additions are inserted after the author's descriptions in the text, and consist chiefly of topographical accounts of the parishes from Sir Robert Sibbald's and Macfarlane's Collections in the Advocates' Library, of Charters preserved in the same Library and in the Charter-rooms of the County families, or already printed in the published Chartularies, and of extracts from the two Statistical Accounts.

The three volumes of Illustrations follow the plan adopted in the additions to the parochial portions of the Collections. They are not like the early volumes composed of several works illustrated by editorial appendices and notes. The appendices and notes are themselves the work. The division as before is parochial in the order of the Presbyteries, and the parishes mentioned are not, as in the other volume, those of the diocese of Aberdeen, but those of the counties of Aberdeen and Banff whether within or beyond the diocese. The Presbyteries of Turriff and Deer, and some particular parishes, are gone over twice; the others only once. The notices are of the same character, and derived from the same sources, as those in the Collections.

It would be vain to attempt giving any abstract of the various matters referred to in the pages of the four volumes. Those who consult them will generally find under the particular parish what they wish to ascertain. Their labours will be diminished by consulting the ample Tables of Contents prefixed by the Editor to each volume of the Illustrations. These are most accurate and minute, particularly in the last volume where the Table occupies more than

a hundred and twenty pages. The Index contained in the present volume will, it is hoped, supply whatever further is wanting for the purposes of reference. It was partially prepared by Mr Francis Shaw and my son, and was arranged by the latter under my superintendance.

Through all the volumes will be found interesting notices of the various ecclesiastical foundations of the diocese, whether regular or secular. In the second volume of the Illustrations, there is an account of the Cistercian Abbey of Deer, carefully prepared by Robertson, which deserves particular attention. It is just what such accounts should be in those cases where, as in the present instance, the authentic sources of information are of the scantiest description. After a brief notice of the foundation, a chronological list is given of the Abbots and of the chief events during their administration, commencing with Hugh, supposed to have been the first Abbot, and ending with Robert Keith, the last Abbot or Commendator.

But the great merit of these volumes consists in their ample collection of charters and other writs, illustrating from the most authentic sources the history of every parish in the two counties. The writer of the article in the *Quarterly Review*, already referred to, observes—"The real civil history of a parish is its local and "territorial history, the history of its soil, from the first settling of "the Saxon 'town' or 'hame,' the Danish 'burgh' or 'by,' the "Norman 'vil;' the clearing of its forests; the tenures of its "lands from the earliest gift of the manor to the lords who after-"wards took their name from it, and the first donation of toft and "croft in pure alms to the chaplain celebrating at its rustic altar. "These are subjects peculiarly within the sphere of the parish

" historian, and to most readers the most interesting part of his work. " It is in these we find the Statistical Accounts most miserably " defective, and it is in these that no editorship could have supplied " the place of patient and intelligent local research." After alluding to the labours of George Chalmers, and the publications of the Antiquarian Societies generally, the same writer adds, with special reference to the Collections, and the volume of the Illustrations first printed—" The Spalding Club, in particular, has distinguished " itself in this career. Its generous President, the Earl of Aberdeen, " set the example, and the Club has now printed two large volumes " of charters and ancient documents illustrative of the early history " of Aberdeen and Banff Shires. These are the proper materials " for the parish historian, and, so far as it extends, that collection, " made with great research, and exhibiting the most extensive " charter learning, really saves the whole labour of working out the " authorities, from which he must compile his account."

What is said here of the two volumes referred to applies equally to the other two. They are a vast store from which materials of every kind may be derived, not only for the purposes above specified, but for those of the historian, the antiquary, the genealogist, and all others whose labours or inquiries are in any way connected with the tenure and possession of land in the district. The early records of that district are more scanty than those of some of the Southern shires; but the subsequent materials are ample, and its history is in various respects peculiarly interesting.

The territory now known as Aberdeenshire and Banffshire was in old times the seat of the Taixali and other Celtic tribes, and at the end of the sixth century formed part of the province of the Northern

Picts. Some writers have attempted to connect the district with the site of the famous battle in which the Caledonians under Galgacus fought with Agricola. The theory is as well founded as that of the Laird of Monkbarns on the same subject in The Antiquary, and the local history must commence five centuries later. Even then fable is mixed up with truth, and the two elements can hardly be separated. We are told how a Scot from Ireland, named Machar, a disciple of St. Columba, was sent from Iona with twelve companions to preach the Gospel in the land of the Picts. He was commanded by his master to go onward along the eastern coast till he should come to a river whose windings resembled the figure of a Bishop's crozier; there he was to stop and build a church. At the mouth of the Don he beheld the appointed sign, and there he erected a church on the spot where the cathedral of Aberdeen was afterwards built and dedicated in his name.

This narrative regarding St. Machar and the church of Aberdeen might be dismissed altogether as merely a beautiful legend, were it not that a similar story about the foundation of other northern churches has recently been shown to rest on something like historical authority. Ancient tradition had connected the name of St. Drostan, another disciple of St. Columba, with the churches of Deer and Aberdour in Buchan. The Book of Deer shows that this tradition was well founded. That venerable volume has now been printed for the Spalding Club, and the Secretary's Preface contains everything which can be ascertained on the point. Extracts were given from it in the fourth volume of the Illustrations. From these we learn how Columba and Drostan came from Iona to Aberdeen, and how Bede the Pict, who was the Maormor of Buchan,

gave them Aberdour and Deer. The monastery of Deer continued in possession of the clergy, the successors of those established by St. Columba and St. Drostan, till they were removed, like so many others, to make way for the new monastic orders introduced by King David the First.

Early records prove the existence also of other monasteries of the same primitive type, in the territory which afterwards became the diocese of Aberdeen, at Mortlach, Cloveth, Turriff, and Monymusk. The religious house at Monymusk was a Culdee establishment. There is no evidence that any of the others were so.

The secular, like the ecclesiastical history of the district, opens with a mixture of truth and fiction. The name of Gregory the Great, King of the Scots, is famous in the legends of the medieval chroniclers. According to Scottish writers, he was a mighty sovereign who governed his own kingdom prudently and successfully, and extended his conquests over Ireland and a large portion of England. The evidence of this is nearly as good as some of the proofs which English writers, even in our own day, have held to be conclusive as to the supremacy of the Kings of England over Northern Britain. No one in Scotland is now so credulous as to believe the Scottish legend. Modern criticism has brought down the great Gregory from his mythical elevation, and reduced his fine sounding classical name to that of Grig. He undoubtedly ruled by some singular title the united kingdom of the Scots and Picts in the end of the ninth century, and there is nothing improbable in the tradition which assigned to him a residence at Dunnideer in the Garioch.

There is no doubt whatever as to the connection with our district

of another usurper of far higher fame—the renowned Macbeth. The northern provinces were favourable to his claims, and he retreated thither after his first defeat by Malcolm Canmore. His last battle took place at Lumphanan in Mar, and the cairn there, known by his name, may be held on the combined authority of chronicle and tradition to mark the spot where he fell. The struggle did not close with his death. His step-son, Lulach, continued the contest, till he also was slain at Essie in Strathbogie.

The battles said to have been fought in Buchan between the Scots and the Danes rest on tradition alone, so far as the details are concerned, but there can be no doubt that conflicts took place, and that there is a considerable Norse element in the people of that district. The dedication of the church of Cruden to St. Olave points in the same direction. It was not only in their own land that the Scots encountered the Northmen. We know from the Irish annals that a son of the Maormor of Mar fought under Brian Boroimhe at the great battle of Clontarf. A Scottish chronicler connects the foundation of the church of Mortlach with a victory of Malcolm II. over the Northmen. The real founder, however, was Malcolm Canmore. The chief residence of that sovereign was at Dunfermline; and the more intimate relations established with England induced him and the succeeding princes of his house to prefer the southern provinces of their kingdom. But in those days a King of the Scots required to visit every part of his realm, and Malcolm is said to have dwelt occasionally at Kindroghet in Mar, where the site of his castle is still pointed out. The tradition is sufficiently probable; and there, far up the Highland Dee, we may suppose that his Queen, St. Margaret, also resided, eight centuries

before the same neighbourhood became the favourite abode of the sovereign of Britain.

With the accession of David, son of Malcolm and Margaret, a new era began in Scotland, and our northern district shared in the changes which then took place. These changes, which were almost all for the better, were manifold in their character, affecting the laws, the religion, and the language of the people, and introducing a new race into the ancient territory of the Picts. What has been called the Anglo-Norman colonization of Scotland was the work of David and his descendants. The general history has yet to be written, but its local progress may be traced in the pages of the Chartularies. New usages were adopted from the South; the Scottish Church was assimilated to the ecclesiastical condition of the rest of Christendom; Burghs were founded; and the feudal institutions were gradually established in the Lowlands.

There is now no dispute as to these points, or as to the extensive immigration from England and the Continent; but it was formerly a common opinion, and it is still maintained by a few, that there was no real change in the great body of the population of the north-eastern counties. This can only be held on the theory that the Picts were a Teutonic not a Celtic race; but that theory is opposed to the evidence both of chronicle and charter, and to the information derived from the latest discoveries, such as the Book of Deer. The language of the whole Scottish nation north of the Forth, in the reign of Malcolm Canmore, was Gaelic. Before the death of Alexander III., a change had been effected. All along the eastern coast, from the Frith of Forth to the Murray Frith, a Teutonic tongue superseded the Gaelic; the ancient race and

language receded farther to the west; and finally the very name of the old Scots was transferred to the new people and language which had come in their place. When Archdeacon Barbour wrote his national poem of the Bruce, the language in which it was composed was spoken in all the low country of Aberdeenshire and Banffshire.

The see of Aberdeen was founded by David I., and the new system of diocesan and parochial administration soon superseded the irregular monastic usages of the Celtic Church. The diocese included the whole of the county of Aberdeen, except Strathbogie, and about one half of the county of Banff. At an early period it was divided into Rural Deaneries, of which there were at first three—Mar, Buchan, and Garioch; and afterwards five—Mar, Buchan, Boyne, Garioch, and Aberdeen. A list of the parishes in these deaneries is given in the volume of Collections. A chapter of secular canons was established in the Cathedral during the episcopate of Bishop Edward; the dignitaries being those usual in Scottish secular chapters, a Dean, a Chancellor, a Precentor, a Treasurer, and a single Archdeacon.

There were only three monastic foundations in the diocese, exclusive of the houses of the Dominican, Franciscan, and Carmelite Friars. These were Deer, Monymusk, and Fyvie. Of Deer, Robertson gives the following account in the second volume of the Illustrations:—"The Cistercian Abbey of Deer, dedicated like all "the houses of the order in honour of the Blessed Virgin, was "founded by William, the first Earl of Buchan, of the great race "of the Cumyns, who died in the year 1233, and is said to have "chosen his sepulture within its walls. * * * According to

" record or tradition preserved in the Abbey until the middle of the " sixteenth century, the date of its foundation was the 29th of " January, 1219." The monks were brought from Kinloss in Murray.

The Culdee monastery of Monymusk was dedicated to St. Mary, and among its benefactors were the Earls of Mar and Buchan. Robertson, speaking of Gillechrist, Earl of Mar, in a note to the account of the parish of Kildrummie, in the fourth volume of the Illustrations, mentions that " between the years 1199 and 1207, he " seems to have built a Priory at Monymusk, an old seat of " Culdees, and to have given to it the churches of St. Andrew of " Alford, of St. Marnan of Leochel, of St. Wolok of Ruthven, and " of Invernochty in Strathdon." Some years afterwards, the Culdees of Monymusk were allowed, or encouraged to become Canons-Regular, and their house was thenceforth dependent on the Augustinian Priory of St. Andrews.

The Priory of Fyvie, which was dedicated to St. Mary and All Saints, was a cell of the great Benedictine Abbey of Arbroath. By a charter granted at Aberdeen, on the feast of St. Luke, 1285, Reginald de Cheyne, head of the Norman family of that name, gave his lands of Ardlogie and certain others to the church of St. Thomas the Martyr at Arbroath, and the monks of that monastery, residing in the religious house built at Ardlogie, near the Church of St. Peter of Fyvie. He was the founder of the Priory, although that honour has been assigned to William the Lion, the founder of the mother-house of Aberbrothock, and to the Earls of Buchan—the error having probably arisen from the circumstance that the King gave to the monks of Arbroath the church of Fyvie,

and that Fergus, Earl of Buchan, and Marjory, Countess of Buchan, were among the early benefactors of Arbroath.

Among the most beneficial of the acts of King David was the encouragement which he gave to the new communities, which soon became known as Royal Burghs. Mr. Cosmo Innes, in his preface to James Gordon's Description of both towns of Aberdeen, observes: —"The most ancient of our burghs cannot date their privileges "higher than the age of David, the father of his people, no less "than of the Church, nor support their individual claims by char-"ters earlier than the reign of his grand-son William. With the "most ancient, as well as the most important, ranks the Burgh of "Aberdeen. Long before Edinburgh had acquired the precedency "of a capital, or even the first place among the Four Burghs of "Southern Scotland, while Glasgow was yet an insignificant "dependent on its Bishop, Aberdeen had taken its place as a great "and independent Royal Burgh, and a port of extensive foreign "trade." Mr. Innes expresses his opinion that the Burgh derived its name from that which the seat of the Cathedral already held in consequenc of its situation at the mouth of the Don. The see, and the small town in which it was situated, had one of the ancient national saints for their patron; the Burgh, like other mercantile communities, made choice of St. Nicholas; and this circumstance alone would indicate the difference between the two places known afterwards as Old and New Aberdeen.

In the reign of David and his immediate successors, we discover the first great divisions of the district, not only in the names of the three earliest rural deaneries, but in those of the ancient earldoms of Mar, Buchan, and the Garioch. The date of the commencement

of the earldom of Mar has been much disputed. Robertson, in his notes on the parish of Kildrummie, observes :—" Lord Hailes has " been thought to countenance the belief that there was a Martach " Earl of Mar in the reign of King Malcolm Canmore. It might " otherwise have been needless to say that Earl Martach, and the " charter which has been cited to prove his existence, are equally " fabulous. Nor is there any good reason to suppose that the " second Earl of Mar of the peerage writers—the Earl Gartnach " who, about 1120, gives his consent to the foundation of the Abbey " of Scone by King Alexander I., was Earl of Mar. It seems " sufficiently certain that he was Maormor or Earl of Buchan. " * * * The first Earl of Mar certainly known to record is " Rothri, Rotheri, or Ruadri. As 'Earl Rotheri,' he gives consent " to the foundation charter of Scone by King Alexander I. about " 1120, and is witness to the great charter of King David to the " monks of Dunfermline between 1124 and 1127. As 'Ruadri, " 'Maormor of Mar,' he appears as a witness to a grant by Gartnait, " Earl or Maormor of Buchan, to the clerics of Deer in 1132."

The above quotations throw light also on the earldom of Buchan. The ancient Celtic family, first known as Maormors, afterwards as Earls of Buchan, ended in an heiress, whose marriage with William Cumyn brought the earldom into the great Norman house of that name. The earldom of the Garioch was held along with the English earldom of Huntingdon by David, brother of Malcolm IV. and William the Lion—the hero of Scott's romance of The Talisman. These honours descended to his son, John the Scot, Earl of Huntingdon, Chester, and the Garioch.

We may now pass on to the troubled period which followed the

death of Alexander III. In the great contest which then took place, the citizens of Aberdeen supported the cause of Bruce, but the earldom of Buchan belonged to his enemies the Cumyns. In the early part of his reign, Bruce himself sought refuge in Aberdeenshire, and placed his wife and daughter for safety in the Castle of Kildrummie. After their removal, the Castle, which was held by his brother Sir Nigel, was besieged and taken by the English, and the young knight was cruelly executed by order of Edward I. The wrongs which he had sustained were sternly avenged by King Robert. The Cumyns were defeated at Inverury, and their earldom was ravaged with such severity that, as Barbour tells us, men spoke fifty years afterwards of the harrying of Buchan. As remarked in the Illustrations, "In the memorable "revolution which placed the Earl of Carrick on the Scottish "throne, the illustrious family of Cumyn was so utterly overthrown, "that, says a Chronicle of the age, of a name which numbered at "one time three earls and more than thirty belted knights, there "remained no memorial in the land, save the orisons of the monks "of Deer."

The victories of Bruce gave repose for some time to his kingdom, but the troubles were renewed in the reign of his son. Henry de Beaumont, an English nobleman, claimed the earldom of Buchan in right of his wife, a daughter of the last earl. His claim was rejected by the Scottish Regent, and he became, in consequence, one of the leaders of the disinherited barons who supported the cause of Edward Baliol. They were successful for a time, but when dissensions broke out amongst them, the adherents of David Bruce again acquired the ascendancy. Beaumont was besieged in the

strong Castle of Dundarg on the northern coast of his earldom, and was obliged to surrender. Kildrummie was held for the house of Bruce, and the garrison was encouraged by the presence of a sister of King Robert, the wife of the Scottish leader, Sir Andrew Murray of Bothwell. It was attacked by David of Strathbogie, Earl of Athol, then in the service of England, but Murray hastened to its relief, and surprised and slew the earl in the forest of Kilblene. The ladies of that day were famous for their valour. Athol's widow, a daughter of Henry de Beaumont, defended the island-castle of Lochindorb in Murray against the Scots. She sent to Edward III. imploring his aid, and the young King of England listened to her call, and marching northwards, raised the siege. On his return, he wasted the north-eastern provinces, and destroyed the town of Aberdeen.

The war of independence was finally successful. The freedom of Scotland was secured, but it was at the expense of the civilization and temporal prosperity of the kingdom. The learning of the ecclesiastics, the chivalry of the nobles, the comforts of the burghers and peasantry had well-nigh disappeared. The counties of Aberdeen and Banff were not so exposed to the ravages of the spoiler as the southern shires, but they suffered greatly in the struggle and a considerable portion of the land had changed its owners. The adherents of the house of Baliol and the friends of the Cumyns were driven out, and those who maintained the national cause assumed their place, foremost among whom were the families of Gordon, Hay, and Keith.

One of the worst consequences of the strife was the weakening of the royal authority, and even of the predominance of the Teutonic race, in the mountainous districts of the North and West. The

chiefs of the Highlands and Isles entered into alliance with England, and attempted repeatedly to establish their independence of the Scottish crown. The most formidable attempt of this kind was that of Donald, Lord of the Isles, whose claim to the earldom of Ross was rejected by the Duke of Albany, Regent of the kingdom during the imprisonment of King James. Scotland was now in a more miserable condition than it had been at any time since the accession of David I. The fruits of Bruce's victories and of his vigorous government had been lost during three turbulent reigns, and the country was suffering more than the usual evils which a sovereign's minority occasioned in feudal times. There never was a fairer opportunity for the Celtic race recovering its ancient territories. Happily for the cause of civilization, the Lord of the Isles found an opponent in one who was accustomed to Highland warfare, and who enjoyed the full confidence of the barons and burgesses of the Lowlands. This was Alexander Stewart, Earl of Mar, an illegitimate son of the Earl of Buchan, one of the sons of Robert II. His career had been a strange one, and illustrates the disordered age in which he lived.

In his youth, Alexander Stewart had commanded a body of Caterans, and his life had been wild and irregular. He was suspected of being implicated in one of the most daring outrages of that unhappy time. Sir Malcolm Drummond, brother of Annabel, wife of Robert III., and married to Isabella, who held in her own right the earldom of Mar, was seized by a band of ruffians, and thrown into a dungeon, where he died soon afterwards. Stewart was thought to have instigated the crime. Not long after the baron's death, he stormed the Castle of Kildrummie, where the

widowed countess was residing, and persuaded or compelled her to marry him. He was apprehensive, however, that the way in which he had wooed and won the lady might not be reputed as quite regular. He therefore appeared before the gates of Kildrummie, and in presence of the vassals of the earldom surrendered the Castle and all that it contained into the hands of the countess, who thereupon declared that, of her own free will, she chose him as her husband. Stewart became Earl of Mar and the Garioch, and one of the most powerful nobles of Scotland. His character changed with his condition, and he was now as firm an assertor of the law as he had formerly been remarkable for setting it at defiance. After the death of his countess, he went abroad for some time, and distinguished himself in the service of the Duke of Burgundy, wedding for his second wife a Flemish lady, in whose right he became Lord of Duffle in Brabant. Details of the earl's proceedings on the continent are given by Andrew Winton in his Chronicle, with a fulness which is explained by the fact, ascertained by Robertson, that the Prior of Lochleven was "sprung from a family "long numbered among the retainers of the house of Mar."

The Earl of Mar was once more in Scotland when the Lord of the Isles, after ravaging Murray, was preparing to enter the Garioch, and threatening to burn the town of Aberdeen, and waste the whole country as far as the Tay. The gentry of Aberdeenshire, Angus, and Mearns, accompanied by the Provost of Aberdeen and a stout body of the burghers, were mustered under the earl, and met the Highland army at Harlaw. The battle, which was fought on St. James's even, 1411, was fiercely contested. Many of the barons and the Provost of Aberdeen were slain, but Donald was

obliged to retreat, and no regular army of the clans ever again descended into the Lowlands under a Highland leader. Few events were more important in themselves, or left a deeper impression on the inhabitants of the northern shires, than the battle of Harlaw. Like Flodden, its memory was preserved in "tradition, legend, "tune, and song." Mr. Clyne, in a note to his Ballads from Scottish History, has given a most interesting account of the relations which existed between the Earl of Mar and Robert Davidson, the brave Provost of Aberdeen, who fell under his banner at Harlaw. Mar died on the 26th of July, 1435, having survived the battle almost exactly twenty-four years.

The vigorous rule of James I., after his return from England, and his noble personal qualities, effected a great improvement in the Scottish kingdom. The miserable civil dissensions were renewed during the minorities of his son and grand-son, but the condition of the people was gradually becoming better. During the reign of James IV. the Scottish government was respected throughout Europe. An inestimable benefit was conferred on the northern provinces of the kingdom by the munificent foundation of Bishop Elphinstone's College and University at Old Aberdeen. A century afterwards, the generosity of the bishop was imitated by the Earl Marischal in New Aberdeen; and the establishment of a College and University at Fraserburgh was proposed by Sir Alexander Fraser of Philorth, and authorised by royal charter, but was never carried out.

In the great ecclesiastical revolution of the sixteenth century, the position of the two north-eastern counties was a peculiar one. At its commencement the Reformation had many friends, but the

ancient Church was powerful through the influence of the University of Aberdeen and the support of the house of Gordon. The Roman Catholics might have made a more strenuous resistance if they had had a better ecclesiastical chief in the Bishop of the diocese. But the successor of Elphinstone at this time was William Gordon, himself too deeply stained with the immorality of the age, to be able to oppose effectually what was a revolt as much against the profligacy of the clergy as against the erroneous belief of the Church. The Reformed doctrines were established by law when the Confession of Faith was agreed to by the Convention of the Estates in 1560. But the change had not received the sanction of the sovereign, and the adherents of the fallen hierarchy did not abandon the hope of recovering their supremacy. In the South they were weaker than the Protestants, but in the North the two parties were more equally balanced.

The leader of the Romanists was George, Earl of Huntly, Chancellor of Scotland, the most powerful nobleman of the kingdom. His political conduct during the regency of Mary of Lorraine had been of a very ambiguous character, but there is no reason to question the sincerity and consistency of his religious belief. Much depended on the line of policy which the young Queen, then about to return to Scotland, might adopt. The party which governed at Edinburgh had sent her illegitimate brother, the Prior of St. Andrews, afterwards the famous Earl of Murray, as their envoy to Mary. Huntly and several of the northern nobles and prelates also despatched an ambassador of their own faith, John Leslie, Official of Aberdeen, afterwards Bishop of Ross. Leslie anticipated the Prior in obtaining an interview with the Queen, and on the part of his

constituents invited her to land at Aberdeen, where he assured her she would be received by an army of twenty thousand of her faithful subjects, prepared to conduct her to Edinburgh. It is impossible to say what the result would have been had Mary landed in the North instead of at Leith. She adopted what seemed the wiser as well as safer course, and declined Leslie's proposal.

The Prior of St. Andrews became Mary's most trusted minister, and he gained her confidence by the general ability of his government, and by the prudence with which he controlled the more intolerant of his own supporters. But it was evident to all that his position was insecure, so long as Huntly was predominant in the North. The two chiefs came into deadly conflict in the autumn of 1562. The immediate pretext was the conferring of the earldom of Murray on the Prior and the Queen's northern journey; but the causes which induced the Gordons to rise in open insurrection, and by which Mary was persuaded to consent to their destruction, continue to be involved in mystery. What actually took place is sufficiently ascertained, and some interesting details are to be found in Robertson's Preface to the Queen's Inventories. Mary resided at Aberdeen for a few days on her progress northwards, and for more than a month on her return. She was there while Murray led the royal army to Corrichie, where Huntly was defeated and slain. The spoils of the Earl's Castle of Strathbogie were brought to Edinburgh, and divided between the Queen and her brother.

The son of the earl who fell at Corrichie was restored by Mary to the honours and estates of his house, and the influence of the Gordons again became very great. They steadfastly supported the cause of the Queen, and maintained for some time a desperate

struggle on behalf of their Church. Thirty years after the legal establishment of the Reformed opinions, the Roman Catholic cause appeared to be far from hopeless. The last efforts of its adherents were made when the national indignation had been excited by the murder of Mary at Fotheringay, and while Spain, undismayed by the loss of the Armada, was still contemplating the conquest of England. Among the nobility, the Church of Rome had many supporters, including the Earls of Huntly, Crawford, Angus, Errol, and Montrose, the Lords Seaton, Livingstone, Maxwell, Herries, Home, Sanquhar, Gray, Ogilvie, and Fleming; and in the northern counties its leaders were the Earls of Huntly and Errol, the latter a recent convert, zealous for his new faith.

In 1594, the northern lords broke out into rebellion against King James, and the Earl of Argyll advanced against them with an army arrayed under the royal banner. There was something singular in the circumstances of this struggle. Argyll's uncle, Earl Archibald, had commanded Mary's army at Langside, and he himself in his later years became a Roman Catholic. His army was chiefly composed of Highlanders, and he had neither horse nor artillery. His principal officers were Maclean and Macintosh, the descendents of those who had fought against Mar at Harlaw. He marched northwards into Badenoch, and thence retreated to Strathavon, where he encountered the army of Huntly and Errol in the neighbourhood of Glenlivat. The followers of the earls consisted of Lowland gentry on horseback, and they had a small train of ordnance. They did not hesitate to attack the Highland army, though six times their number, and after a desperate struggle Argyll was defeated.

The victors of Glenlivat did not derive any permanent advantage

from their success. The King in person led an army to Aberdeen, and thence advanced to Strathbogie, which its master was unable to defend. The stately Castle, the pride of the North, was destroyed, and Errol's Castle of Slains was also demolished. The two noblemen, after another attempt to rouse their followers, announced their intention of leaving Scotland. Huntly's uncle, James Gordon, a Jesuit priest, endeavoured to dissuade them from their resolution. They met in Elgin Cathedral, and there mass was celebrated for the last time. Gordon then mounted the pulpit, and exhorted his kinsmen and friends to dare all for their faith, but they had lost heart, and gave up the contest. Huntly embarked at Aberdeen, and Errol at Peterhead, and sailed for the Continent. They returned some years afterwards, but it was to make their submission to the King and the Protestant Church. The ceremony of their formal reception took place within the church of St. Nicholas at Aberdeen. The recantation made on this occasion was as insincere as such acts proceeding from the dread of worldly consequences generally are. Huntly and Errol were again excommunicated, and again restored after the accession of James to the English crown. The former seems to have been little troubled by his frequent changes of religion. Errol was more scrupulous. We are informed that, on the morning of his last submission, "the Archbishop of Glasgow being called, he confessed his dissimulation "with many tears, and beseeching them that were present to bear "witness of his remorse, was hardly brought to any settling all that "day. This nobleman was of a tender heart, and of all that I "have known the most conscientious in his profession; and there-"fore to his dying was used by the Church with greater lenity

"than were others of that sect." Such is the testimony of Spottiswood, himself Archbishop of Glasgow at the time.

While the chiefs of the Gordons and Hays were thus compelled to submit to the Protestant Establishment, arguments of another description had kept the family of Keith faithful to the new opinions. Robert Keith, second son of William, Earl Marischal, was Commendator of Deer at the Reformation, and obtained a grant of the Abbey lands, which were erected into a temporal barony. He was succeeded by his nephew George, fifth Earl Marischal, the founder of Marischal College. Popular feeling in the North was not favourable to the appropriation of the temporalities of the Church, but the earl was not disposed to pay much regard to it. On a tower built by him on the lands of Deer, and on his new College at Aberdeen, he inscribed words which were supposed to allude to the opinions expressed about him—"Thay haif said: Quhat say "thay: Let thame say." The Countess Marischal entreated her lord to have nothing to do with such sacrilegious gains, but he disregarded her warnings and the vision which she related of the doom of his castle. The account of this vision was first printed in the Collections from the manuscript of Patrick Gordon's Short Abridgement of Britain's Distemper, and that manuscript was subsequently printed for the Spalding Club. The narrative was written between 1649 and 1660, more than half a century after the date of the alleged dream; but it was another half century and more after the vision was recorded that the fulfilment came, in the ruin of Dunottar, and the downfall of the family of Keith. The story is a singular one, but it admits of an easy explanation.

Aberdeenshire and Banffshire partook in the general prosperity

enjoyed by Scotland in the early part of the seventeenth century. Scotland and England were now united under one sovereign, and the law was strong enough to put down the feudal contests among the nobility. One of the signs of returning comfort was the erection of baronial mansions of a higher order than those previously built. Mr. Cosmo Innes, in his Scotland in the Middle Ages, after referring to the labours of the Chancellor Seaton at Fyvie, and of the Earl of Strathmore at Glammis, adds—"These "two master builders were but the type of their age. Castle-building, "or castle-adorning was in high fashion in the beginning of the "seventeenth century; and strangely it fixed on Aberdeenshire as "its favourite field, where castle mansions of Frasers, Gordons, "Forbeses, Burnetts, and Urquharts still exist to teach our pre-"sumptuous age a lesson of humility. All these chateaus, and the "less-adorned country houses of that period, mark a great improve-"ment in the comfort and in the tastes of our gentry. We cannot "figure houses like Castle Fraser to have been built and inhabited "by any who were not gentlemen and ladies, in the best sense of "the word."

This prosperous era continued during the early years of the reign of Charles I. It was interrupted only by the never-ceasing outbreaks along the Highland line, and by such occasional calamities in the Lowlands as the burning of the House of Frendraught. The Diocese of Aberdeen was happy under the wise government of Bishop Patrick Forbes, and the University was dignified by the virtues and erudition of its doctors, famous throughout Christendom. In a learned age, John Forbes was one of the most learned; and British scholars, writing in what was still the common language of

men of letters, spoke of Robert Baron as "Baronius noster," to distinguish him from the great Roman Cardinal.

This fair prospect was overcast by the breaking out of the civil convulsions, which the writer from whom our Club is named calls emphatically the Troubles. The first blood was shed at the skirmish known as the Trot of Turriff, and the leader of the Royalists on that occasion, Sir John Gordon of Haddo, was the first who died on the scaffold. Aberdeenshire became one of the chief scenes of strife. At the beginning of the war, Lord Aboyne was beaten by Montrose at the Bridge of Dee; and subsequently the Great Marquis, fighting for the King, defeated Lord Burleigh at Aberdeen, the Marquis of Argyll at Fyvie, and General Baillie at Alford. These combats represent but a small part of the misery of that unhappy time, when every district was divided in opinion, and almost every castle was besieged or plundered.

Some of the saddest events took place towards the conclusion of the war. Dr. John Forbes, after years of exile, died in obscurity at his own Castle of Corse. Montrose, when his last battle had been fought and lost, was carried a prisoner, on his way to death, through the county which had beheld his early triumphs. George, second Marquis of Huntly, the leader of the northern Royalists, a nobleman of stainless faith and purity, to whose character history has not yet done justice, was imprisoned and beheaded. His judicial murder took place a few months after that of the King. At his death, he declared that he counted it his greatest felicity to be allowed to follow his master.

The Cavaliers of the north-eastern counties, like the Puritans of the south-west, had to submit to the rule of Cromwell and his

lieutenants. Rigorous as was the government of these military despots, it was acquiesced in by many as a relief from the more galling oppressions of the ecclesiastical courts. An instance of this is to be found in the appeal made by Sir Alexander Irvine of Drum to Colonel Overton, against a sentence of the Presbytery of Aberdeen, ordaining him to subscribe the Covenant. The third volume of the Illustrations contains a curious deed of this period, relative to the lands of Pitmuckston in the parish of St. Machar. It is a charter of those lands which belonged to the office of Mair of Fee of the Sheriffdom of Aberdeen, and is granted by "Oliver, Lord "Protector of the Commonwealth of England, Scotland, and Ire-"land, and dominions thereto belonging," in favour of Paul Symmer of Mergie, for performance of the services used and wont; and for yearly payment to the Protector and his successors, "in place of "the Cathedral Church of St. Nicholas of Aberdeen, of the sum of "two merks usual money of Scotland, of old paid for the yearly "revenues and obsequies of umquhile Robert Blenshell, burgess of "Aberdeen." It is singular to find Oliver receiving a payment of this description. He was not responsible for the language used by his commissioners in Scotland, and for the conversion of a Collegiate Church into a Cathedral.

The Restoration was nowhere welcomed more joyously than in Aberdeenshire. While the Covenanters were enduring persecution similar to that which they had inflicted during the preceding reign, the north-eastern counties were in peace and tranquillity; and the diocese of Aberdeen was happy under the mild government of Bishop Scougal, while the University was adorned by the learning and piety of his son. The Revolution of 1688 did not seriously

disturb this quietness. King James's arbitrary policy, and his determination to suspend the laws, which almost the whole nation believed to be necessary for the safety of the Protestant Church, had alienated even his most faithful subjects. After the death of Viscount Dundee, though the Jacobite party was strong, there was little open resistance to King William's government, and the supporters of Episcopacy were conciliated by permission being given to those of their ministers who took the oaths prescribed by law, to retain possession of their benefices and of the parish churches.

During the next reign, many of the adherents of the exiled prince submitted to Queen Anne, but everything indicated that a struggle would take place at her decease. The opponents of the Hanoverian succession were strengthened by a portion of the numerous party which had resisted the union with England, and by those Episcopalians who had hitherto acknowledged the Revolution settlement. If the advisers of George I. had acted with more wisdom and moderation, the storm might have been averted, but when it was seen that the King acted rather as the head of a party than as the sovereign of a nation, the discontented Tories made common cause with the Jacobites. Disaffection was general both in England and Scotland, but in the latter country the opponents of the new government were more numerous and more courageous, and the very centre of the movement was in Aberdeenshire.

The chief Jacobite leaders were the Earl of Mar, a disappointed statesman, actuated mainly by selfish motives, and the Earl Marischal, a young nobleman attached on principle to the house of Stewart. For the last time Kildrummie Castle appears in history. There, like his predecessors of old, the Earl of Mar established his

residence in the autumn of 1715, while preparing for the insurrection. A great hunting match was held in the Braes of Mar in the month of August, which was attended by the principal Jacobite noblemen; among whom, besides the earl himself, were the Marquis of Huntly, eldest son of the Duke of Gordon, the Earl Marischal, and the Earl of Errol. On the sixth of September, the standard of the Stewarts was set up at Braemar, and the Chevalier was proclaimed King. James was soon afterwards proclaimed at Aberdeen by the Earl Marischal, and at Gordon Castle by the Marquis of Huntly. Almost the whole of Scotland from the Dornoch Firth to the Firth of Forth was in the hands of the insurgents; and had they been able to seize Edinburgh Castle and join their friends in the South, or had Mar possessed the military genius of Montrose or Dundee, England would have been invaded by a Scottish army, as strong in numbers and in the sympathy of a powerful party in that kingdom, as when the Covenanters passed the Tweed in the reign of Charles I. As it was, the Duke of Argyll at the head of an inferior force, was able to prevent the northern insurgents from crossing the Forth.

It was only after the Jacobites had been discouraged by the inactivity of their leaders, and by the results of the indecisive battle at Sheriffmuir, that the sovereign whom they had for some time anxiously expected was able to effect a landing in Scotland. He disembarked at Peterhead on the 22d of December, and proceeded by Aberdeen to Fetteresso, a seat of the Earl Marischal, where he was met by that nobleman, the Earl of Mar, and others of his adherents, and from which he went onwards to Perth. His arrival gave no real strength to his cause, and the insurgents finding their

attempt hopeless, retired in good order to the North. The Chevalier embarked for France at Montrose, and the leaders who were unable to obtain terms from the government, succeeded in effecting their escape to the Continent. The southern Jacobites who were taken at Preston were punished with great severity, but in Scotland the Duke of Argyll and other chief adherents of the House of Hanover obtained milder treatment for the defeated party. Most of the Jacobite nobles were, however, attainted, and in Aberdeenshire extensive changes of property took place, in consequence of the forfeiture of the Earl of Mar and the Earl Marischal. Kildrummie was soon deserted, and Inverugie and Dunottar sunk into ruin. Mar in exile continued his course of busy and selfish intrigue. Marischal pursued a nobler career as the counsellor and friend of Frederick the Great; while in his younger brother, Aberdeenshire gave to the Continent, a soldier still more renowned than General Patrick Gordon of Auchleuchries.

After thirty years of tranquillity, the kingdom was again disturbed by a Jacobite insurrection. Although none of the great nobles of the north-eastern counties took part in it, one peer of high character, Lord Pitsligo, and Lord Lewis Gordon, a brother of the Duke of Gordon, joined Prince Charles, and many of the gentry adopted the same side. Lord Pitsligo had been out in 1715, and had escaped to the Continent, but had afterwards been allowed to return. He was sixty-seven years of age when the next rising took place, and was held in universal esteem. John Home mentions that when "he declared his purpose of joining Charles, most of the "gentlemen in that part of the country who favoured the Pre-"tender's cause, put themselves under his command, thinking they

"could not follow a better or safer guide than Lord Pitsligo." His friends met him at Aberdeen, and when they were ready to set out, he stepped forward, took off his hat, and looking up to Heaven said, "Lord, Thou knowest that our cause is just. March gentlemen." He escaped from the field of Culloden, and from the eager search afterwards made for him, and at last, unmolested by the government, died in peace.

Lord Lewis Gordon, whose name is associated with that of the Prince in a well-known ballad, held the office of Lord-Lieutenant for the Chevalier in the counties of Aberdeen and Banff, and commanded the insurgents in the skirmish fought at Inverury in December, 1745. Sir Walter Scott has pointed out the singular circumstance, that on this occasion the Jacobites were Lowlanders, with the exception of the Farquharsons of Monaltrie, while King George's troops were Highlanders of the Whig clans of M'Leod and Monro. Lord Lewis, in a letter to Moir of Stoneywood, written a few days after the battle, expressed his regret that he had few Highlanders with him, in consequence of his brother the duke having ordered them not to stir.

When the insurrection was suppressed, the Lowland districts were exempted from military violence, but the cruelty of the Duke of Cumberland's soldiers in the Highlands is well known. The captive insurgents were treated with great severity, and the lists of the persons attainted, or specially excepted from the subsequent act of indemnity, show how numerous the Jacobites were in the counties of Aberdeen and Banff. Among the names are those of Lord Pitsligo, Lord Lewis Gordon, Sir Alexander Bannerman of Elsick, Sir William Dunbar of Durn, Sir William Gordon

of Park, Gordon of Glenbucket, Farquharson of Monaltrie, Irvine of Drum, Byres of Tonley, Cumine of Kininmont, Cumine of Pitully, Farquharson of Balmoral, Fullerton of Dudwick, Gordon of Carnousie, Garioch of Margie, Gordon of Hallhead, Gordon of Avochie, Gordon of Cobairdie, Hay of Rannes, Menzies of Pitfoddels, Moir of Stoneywood, Moir of Lonmay, Ogilvie of Auchiries, Smith of Inveramsay, and Turner of Turnerhall.

The town of Aberdeen contained many Episcopalians and Jacobites—names which at that time were almost identical—but among the inhabitants were also many zealous Hanoverians. Letters and other documents have fortunately been preserved, which mark the state of feeling, and record several curious incidents of the time. Prince Charles did not pass through Aberdeenshire at all, either on his way southwards or on his return. The Duke of Cumberland resided at Aberdeen from the 27th of February to the 8th of April, 1746. He lived in the house of Mr. Alexander Thomson, Advocate, in the Guestrow, and General Hawley was quartered in an adjoining house, that of Mrs. Gordon of Hallhead. Mr. Thomson was a Whig, but Mrs. Gordon's husband was an open adherent of the Stewarts. In the Jacobite Memoirs, compiled by Bishop Robert Forbes, and edited by Mr. Robert Chambers, there is a singular account of the violent conduct of the duke, and of the rapacity of Hawley, the general accuracy of which there is no reason to question, though the details may have been coloured by the strong feelings of the ladies who tell the tale.

The Diary of the Reverend John Bisset, one of the ministers of Aberdeen, gives us the other side of the picture. He was a keen Hanoverian, and entertained a particular dislike to Popery, or what-

ever seemed to him to have any connection with it. Selections from his Diary are printed in the first volume of the Miscellany of the Club. An entry of date the 24th of October, 1745, may be given as a specimen:—"This day there was a beating up for recruits to "Lord Lewis Gordon for the Pretender. Stoneywood is also at "Aberdeen recruiting; they come little speed. I am ravished to "hear that when the drum beats, not a few of the boys cry God "save King George. I love an early seasoning against the spirit "of Jacobitism. I have heard of a Whig lady in Aberdeen styled "Talisker, who, with her two daughters has been at Edinburgh, "who, being kissed by the young Pretender, are returned proclaim-"ing his praise. Were Absalom living and among us, he was like "to do great execution among the Whig ladies, though, if I re-"member right, his claim was very unnatural." Bisset bears honest testimony to the good behaviour of the division of the Jacobite army which passed through Aberdeen on its retreat to the North, and specially of those who were billeted on himself. Their common soldiers seem to have conducted themselves with more politeness than King George's officers.

The north-eastern counties do not again appear in connection with any important historical event. For some time after Culloden, the whole Scottish nation generally, not the unsuccessful party only, felt humiliated by the defeat, and disaffection to the reigning dynasty extensively prevailed. But the discontent gradually abated after the accession of George III. The new sovereign, unlike the first two princes of his house, strove to conciliate all his subjects, and was even accused by a violent party of being too favourable to Scotsmen. The American war tended still farther

to make men forget old feuds. During that struggle, while the descendents of the English Puritans and of the Covenanters in Ulster took the lead in opposing their sovereign, the expatriated Highlanders remained faithful to the crown. In the storm of the French Revolution, the change became still more complete. A few of the Jacobites adopted Jacobin opinions, but by far the greater number of the families which had adhered to the Stewarts now became the most loyal subjects of the House of Hanover.

Meanwhile, the improvement in matters of social and domestic economy was very great. From the beginning of the eighteenth century, increasing attention had been paid to agriculture; and commerce, though paralysed in some of its branches by the union with England, in others had rapidly advanced, mainly in consequence of that event. Sir Archibald Grant of Monymusk was one of the earliest agricultural improvers in the North. Two papers written by him, and printed in the second volume of the Miscellany of the Club, are very instructive on this point—"By the indulgence "of a very worthy father," he says, "I was allowed, 1716, though "then very young, to begin to inclose, and plant, and provide, and "prepare nurseries. At that time there was not an acre upon the "whole estate inclosed, nor any timber upon it, but a few elm, "sycamore, and ash, about a small kitchen garden adjoining to the "house, and some straggling trees at some of the farm yards, with "a small copse wood not inclosed, and dwarfish, and browsed by "sheep and cattle. All the farms ill disposed and mixed, different "persons having alternate ridges, not one wheel carriage on the "estate, nor indeed any one road that would allow it, and the rent "about £600 sterling per annum, grain and services converted to

"money. * * * In my early days, soon after the union, hus-
"bandry and manufactures were in low esteem. Turnips in fields
"for cattle by Earl of Rothes, and very few others were wondered
"at; wheat was almost confined to East Lothian; inclosures few,
"and planting very little; no repair of roads, all bad, and very few
"wheel carriages; no coach, chariot, or chaise, and few carts
"benorth Tay. In 1720, I could not, in chariot, get my wife from
"Aberdeen to Monymusk. Colonel Middleton the first who used
"carts or waggons there; and he and I the first benorth Tay who
"had hay, except very little at Gordon Castle. Mr. Lockhart of
"Carnwath, author of Memoirs, the first that attempted raising
"or feeding cattle to size."

Sixty years wrought a great change for the better. The general condition of Aberdeenshire and Banffshire, at the time of the American war, may be learned from the description given in the well-known work of Francis Douglas on the East Coast of Scotland. In almost every part of the two counties the signs of improvement were manifest. In the neighbourhood of the Burgh of Aberdeen, mention is made of the plantations and inclosures at Fraserfield, Grandholm, Dyce, and Fintray. Monymusk is described at greater length, and justice is done to the exertions of Sir Archibald Grant. An account is given of the establishment of the linen manufacture at Huntly by Hugh M'Veagh, of Mr. Cumine's farm at Auchry, then much spoken of, and of the various improvements effected by the Earls of Fife and Findlater in the vicinity of Banff and Cullen.

Douglas relates a conversation which he had with an old man near Banff, and from it a good notion may be obtained of what had been done there. The old man said, "If you had known this

" country fifty years ago, as I did, you would think these fields " and houses which you pass unnoticed a fine sight. I remember " the time, Sir, and so does my youngest bairn, when they were " all uninclosed; large bauks between every two and three ridges; " and when you might have travelled through them from one stone " head to another without touching the ground; when the farm- " houses were ready to tumble, and neither held out wind nor rain; " and when we were well pleased if, over all the farm, we had four " times the corn we sowed." When asked who had the merit of introducing better methods of farming, he answered, "Faith, Sir, " we did not think ourselves much obliged to him at first; it was " our master; and we had some suspicion that lairds and lords " chiefly minded their own interest. We had been long accustomed " to our own methods, and thought our fathers had been as wise " as we; it was not therefore an easy matter to persuade us that any " others were better, or more proper for our soil. * * * All these " prejudices Lord Findlater got the better of; not by the strong " hand, and telling us by his overseers and factors that such and " such things we must do, but by going himself from farm to farm, " advising rather than directing us how to proceed."

For a faithful picture of Aberdeenshire in the latter half of the eighteenth century, viewed under a different aspect from that just mentioned, reference may be made to Sir William Forbes's Life of Dr. Beattie. It is unnecessary to extend these remarks beyond that period. Few of the documents contained in the Collections and Illustrations come down as far as the present century.

GEORGE GRUB.

ABERDEEN, 30*th November*, 1869.

NOTE.

THE following letter from LORD SALTOUN to the Secretary of the Club gives a correction of three errors as to dates in the Illustrations :—

9, GREAT STANHOPE STREET, LONDON, W.,
May 29*th*, 1869.

Dear Sir,—As I understand that a new Index to some of the works published by the Spalding Club, of which I have the honour to be a member, is about to be issued under the auspices of that Society, I beg to call your attention to three errors in dates, respecting my own family, which I think ought to be rectified in any new publication on the subject. The first of these occurs (in Vol. III. of the "Antiquities of the Shires of Aberdeen and Banff," page 43) in the date 1342, ascribed to the "Concessio Willelmi de Melgdrum," &c., at the end of which (page 45), is, "Alexandro Fraser, milite, vicecomite de Abirden," as one of the witnesses. This surprised me, as I had believed that Sir Alexander Fraser, who died in 1410, could not have been old enough to hold, in 1342 that Sheriffship which he afterwards enjoyed; and, on farther investigation, it was pointed out to me, by Mr. William Skene, that the seal of "Alexander," Bishop of Aberdeen, was affixed to the document.

On looking at the list of the Bishops of Aberdeen, in the volume of "Collections on the Shires of Aberdeen and Banff," it appears that

Alexander Kinninmond 1st died . .	August 14th, 1340,
and was succeeded by	
William Dean, who died . . .	„ 20th, 1350,
and was succeeded by	
John Rait, who died	1355,
and was succeeded by	
Alexander Kinninmond 2d, who died .	July 29th, 1380.

There was, therefore, no "*Alexander*," Bishop of Aberdeen, in 1342, but there was such, viz., Alexander Kinninmond 2d, between 1355 and 1380; *i. e.* in 1362 and 1372, to one of which dates (probably the latter), the "Concessio" is referable. In a note, at the foot of page 43, it is stated that the original is in the Charter Chest of Fyvie, so that it can be re-examined.

The second Error occurs (in Vol. IV. of the "Antiquities of the Shires of Aberdeen and Banff," page 122) in the date "1418," ascribed to "Preceptum sasine in favorem Alexandri Fraser," by Lawrence Mercer of Aldy.

This is an error of a whole century, and the date ought to be "1518." In pages 95-96 of the same Vol., a "John Fraser, in Ardglasse," which is the name of one of Lawrence Mercer's baillies for execution of the above Precept, is proved to have lived in 1516, and, page 124 same Volume, a Robert Mercer, which is the name of one of the witnesses to the precept, is proved to have lived in 1504, and was a witness to a Charter by a Henry Mercer.

In addition to this there is no Alexander, of that date 1418, as proprietor of Philorth, which was then held by a William Fraser, and in 1516 (Page 95, same Volume), an Alexander Fraser did make up his title to his father, William Fraser.

But confirmation of all the above evidence is found in the Mercer Pedigree, which shows that there was no Mercer, of the Christian name of "Lawrence," as head of the family of Aldy, or in possession of Faithly and Tyrie, until 1473, when "Lawrence" Mercer gets sasine of those subjects on the decease of his father Andrew.

This "Lawrence" was succeeded by his son "Henry," who was killed at Flodden, and was succeeded by his son

"Lawrence," who is the granter of the Precept, and who had an uncle "Robert."

The third Error (Vol. IV., page 124), is in the date 1420, ascribed to the „ Litera Jacobi Douglas de Balvany de sasina Alexandro Fraser danda." This date ought to be 1430, which is evident on a close examination of the document, and is farther borne out by the proof (Pages 85, Note, and 86, 87 Transumpt at instance of William Fraser) that the said William, father of Alexander, was living in 1423, and as late as 1425.

I trust you will turn your attention to these matters, as they have an important bearing on the pedigree of my family, and

I remain,

Yours truly,

SALTOUN.

To JOHN STUART, Esq.

The attention of the Editor has been called to an erroneous date in the 231st page of the third volume of the Illustrations. The Precept there printed should be dated in 1442—not in 1466—since James, Earl of Douglas, died in 1443, and his son Archibald, afterwards Earl of Murray, in whose favour the Precept was granted, died in 1455. In the corresponding part of the Table of Contents of the third volume (p. xxviii.), the year 1442 should be substituted for 1466, and James II. for James III.

Opportunity is also taken to correct an error in the 81st page of the Preface to the First Volume of the Miscellany of the Club, and in the 424th page of the text of that volume. Gilbert Menzies is called Laird of Pitfodels. In point of fact he was the Laird's eldest son.

In the following Index, Volume I. refers to the Collections; Volumes II., III., and IV. to the Second, Third, and Fourth Volumes of the Illustrations.

INDEX OF PLACES.

Abachie, i. 530.
Abbotshall, i. 21, 307.
Abberbrandolthin, ii. 301, 303.
Abdy, iii. 126.
Aberardour, i. 641; ii. 85, 89.
..... Chapel at, i. 641; ii. 85.
Abircathie, iv. 485.
Abercawltye, iv. 481.
Aberchirder, i. 199; ii. 190, 210, 212, 214, 218, 219, 220, 221, 222, 223, 598; ii. 109; iii. 407.
..... Thanagium de, ii. 217, 218, 219.
..... Parish of, i. 222, 229; ii. 147, 148, 151, 152, 158, 189—224.
Aberdeen, Broadgate of, i. 43, 124.
..... Cardan's Well of, i. 44.
..... Carpet Walk of, i. 47.
..... Castle of, i. 29, 45, 340.
..... Castlegate of, i. 43, 125, 203; ii. 419; iii. 233.
..... Castlehill of, i. 43, 44, 45, 46, 124; iii. 212, 213.
..... Cathedral of, i. 28, 45, 69, 137, 138, 146, 148, 149, 150, 151, 152, 155, 156, 162, 163, 221, 231, 244, 312, 443, 566; ii. 266, 313, 327, 337, 348, 365, 373, 375, 385, 392, 394, 399, 414, 417, 446; iii. 3, 26, 58, 71, 89, 113, 119, 120, 121, 161, 162, 163, 172, 175, 223, 230, 232, 234, 253, 273, 276, 289, 313, 318, 320, 330, 331, 332, 347, 351, 353, 356, 378, 397, 423, 431, 432, 434, 436, 441, 458, 461, 464, 494, 529, 543, 546; iv. 81, 113, 148, 186, 371, 380, 460, 467, 486, 668, 694.
Aberdeen, Cathedral of, Girth Cross of, i. 151.
..... Church of St. Nicholas of, i. 49, 50, 69, 145, 157, 166, 205, 206, 207, 208, 209, 243, 335, 485; ii. 196; iii. 43, 44, 45, 132, 184, 185, 186, 192, 243, 262, 270, 358.
.... Chapel of Our Lady of Pity in, i. 209.
..... Convent of Nuns of St. Catherine of Sienna in, i. 69, 205.
..... Cross of, i. 43, 44.
..... Crux fori de, iii 11.
..... Exchequer Wynd of, i. 44.
..... Fity Gate of, ii. 419.
..... Forest of, i. 147.

Aberdeen, Gallowgate of, i. 43, 44, 124; ii. 431; iii. 44, 46.
..... Gallowhill of, i. 43, 44, 124.
..... Grammar School of, i. 60, 61, 201; iii. 195.
..... Green of, i. 43, 203; iii. 44, 46, 114.
..... Ghaist Raw of, i. 43, 44, 125.
..... Hospital of St. Thomas at, iii. 239.
..... House of Templars in, i. 203.
..... Huxter Row of, i. 43.
..... King's College of, i. 28, 45, 84, 109, 153, 159, 205, 212, 213, 217, 639; iii. 18, 47, 51, 55, 56, 76, 77, 82, 83, 130, 131, 161, 168, 169, 175, 178, 238, 334, 420, 441, 580; iv. 451, 536.
..... King's Meadows of, i. 45.
..... Lepers' Hospital of, i. 125.
..... Links of, i. 47.
..... Marischal College of, i. 29, 84, 200, 214; iii. 195.
..... Marischal's Hall in, i. 43, 187; ii. 419.
..... Merchants' Hospital of, i. 125.
..... Monastery of Carmelite or White Friars of, i. 69, 203, 214, 524; iii. 183, 453.
.... Dominican or Black Friars of, i. 69, 201, 272, 333, 360; iii. 113, 114.
.... Franciscan or Gray Friars of, i. 29, 69, 200, 214; ii. 356.
.... Trinity or Red Friars of, i. 28, 69, 203, 204; ii. 431; iii. 194, 196.
..... Narrow Wynd of, i. 43.
Aberdeen, Netherkirkgate of, i. 43, 125.
..... Palace of Bishop of, iii. 85, 206, 254, 354, 380, 383, 434, 465, 467.
..... Pitfodells Lodging in, i. 43.
..... Rural Deanery of, i. 69, 216, 218.
..... St. Katherine's Hill of, i. 43, 44, 45, 124, 205; ii. 431.
..... St. Mary's Church in King's College of, i. 69, 205, 210, 211; iii. 392.
..... Schoolhill of, i. 43.
..... Ship Raw of, i. 44, 125; iii. 540.
..... Shore Brae of, i. 44.
..... Spa Well of, i. 29, 30, 43.
..... Thanage of, iii. 210.
..... Town-house of, i. 43, 111, 190.
..... Trades' Hospital of, i. 125, 204.
..... Trinity Kirk of, i. 44.
..... University of, i. 30, 69, 167, 211, 212, 214; iii. 18, 56, 82, 130, 161, 169, 178, 238, 334, 385, 420, 451, 508, 543; iv. 64.
..... Upperkirkgate of, i. 43, 125.
..... Women's Hospital of, i. 125.
..... Woolman-hill of, i. 29, 43.
..... Old, Bishop Dunbar's Hospital of, i. 28, 152, 155, 156.
.... Chanonry of, i. 152, 153, 335; iii. 163, 435.
.... Chaplain's Close of, i. 156, 157.
.... College Bounds of, i. 152, 153.
.... Cross of, i. 152, 153.
.... Episcopal Palace of, i. 28, 69, 151, 152, 310, 628.

Aberdeen, Old, Hospital of St. Peter in, i. 145, 153, 154, 155, 158; iii. 130, 162; iv. 491, 695.
.... Seaton of, i. 152.
.... Snow Church of, iii. 161; iv. 485, 486.
.... Spittal of, i. 152.
.... Trades' Hospital of, i. 156.
Aberdour, i. 113, 116; ii. 375, 377, 378, 379, 381, 444, 448; iii. 158, 578; iv. 89, 105, 110, 388, 545, 647, 650, 651.
..... Parish of, i. 93, 97, 158, 216, 218, 220, 222, 224, 227, 228, 435, 442—448; ii. 120, 121, 373—382, 383; iii. 158; iv. 113—121, 651, 655, 669—679.
Abergairdin, see Glengarden.
Abergeldie, i. 24, 77, 78, 84, 641; ii. 85; iii. 105, 222, 242, 305; iv. 373, 715.
..... Chapel at, i. 641; ii. 85.
Aberlour, ii. 290.
..... Parish of, ii. 147, 148, 170, 280, 281, 282, 289—292.
Abernithock, i. 171.
..... Chapel at, i. 585.
Aboyne, i. 26, 37, 120, 498, 633; ii. 32, 33, 35, 48; iii. 68; iv. 340, 383, 404, 405, 419, 422, 538, 701, 770.
..... Parish of, i. 85, 216, 217, 219, 223, 225, 229, 633; ii. 32—36.
Acsindendonald, iii. 518.
Actamfurde, iv. 578, 579.
Actanfort, iv. 576.
Actekebidy, iv. 419.
Acthmure, iv. 745.
Adamestoun, iv. 565, 566.
Adauyn, ii. 303.
Aden, i. 116, 250, 404; ii. 159, 391, 407, 446; iii. 221, 222, 230; iv. 21, 33, 34, 35, 36, 37, 38.
Adervick, see Hedderwick.
Adiall, i. 410.
Adie, iii. 157.
Adloche, iii. 314.
Adthelnachorth, ii. 279.
Aikeinshill, ii. 435.
Aikie-brae, i. 185, 397.
Ailhous-croft, iv. 507, 512.
Ailhoushill, i. 390; iv. 24, 70, 589, 592, 594, 595.
Ainzie, see Enzie.
Aird, Chapel at, i. 644.
Airdlawhill, iii. 158.
Airnbath, ii. 96.
Akynnis-chil, iv. 25.
Alachie, ii. 290.
Alathane, ii. 315, 380, 433; iii. 81, 82, 167; iv. 22, 50, 51, 116, 411, 417, 421, 422, 423, 572, 578, 579, 678, 745, 771.
Albaclanenauch, i. 172.
Ald Culmelly, i. 594.
Aldecassen, Invor of, iv. 449.
Alde Clothi, i. 172.
Aldgoic, i. 235.
Aldinruif, iv. 538.
Aldin-alenn, iv. 549.
Aldmad, i. 187, 407; iv. 20, 23, 28, 557.
Aldnagtoe, iii. 51.
Aldnakest, iv. 468, 470.
Aldnassauoch, ii. 156.
Aldrochyn, ii. 232.
Aldynny, i. 258.
Aleymuck, iv. 665.
Alford, i. 84, 85, 89; iii. 458; iv. 392, 421, 422, 423, 425, 770.

Alford, Parish of, i. 27, 79, 85, 170, 174, 178, 217, 219, 223, 225, 226, 229, 587—589; iii. 467; iv. 136—147, 424, 686—689, 693, 694.
Algargadyn, ii. 232.
Algars, ii. 232.
Alien, ii. 86.
Allanacoich, i. 643; ii. 84
Allanbuic, ii. 242.
Allane, see Ellon.
Allardes, iii. 32, 87, 303, 560; iv. 41.
Allerg, i. 616.
Aloway, iii. 142.
Altachoylachan, iii. 295.
Alterc, iv. 546.
Alterin-alla-uethe-na-Camone, iv. 547.
Altersett, iii. 337; iv. 360.
Alterlandis de Fovorne, iv. 557.
Altmore, i. 13.
Altrie, i. 187, 400; ii. 423, 438, 439, 440; iv. 20, 23, 28, 60, 557.
Alva, i. 159; ii. 314, 318, 380.
..... Parish of, i. 97, 218, 220, 222, 224, 227; ii. 310—317; iii. 159, 576, 587; iv. 712.
Anachie, i. 398, 399; iv. 22, 42, 579, 580.
Andeiscroft, iii. 447.
Andret, i. 120.
Angustoune, iii. 347.
Annit, i. 320, 321; iii. 54, 55, 57, 64, 90, 103, 221, 260, 335, 371, 418, 448, 516, 536, 585, 589, 591, 592.
..... St. Ninian's Chapel at, i. 320.
Aquaicht, ii. 433.
Aradoul, i. 649.
Aratie, iii. 300.
Arbady, i. 299; ii. 67.
Arbauchlaux, iv. 142.
Arbecky, iii. 88.
Archedlie, iii. 95, 102, 103, 117; iv. 422, 770.
Archorthy, iii. 99.
Ard, iv. 66, 68, 69.
Ardach, i. 366, 367; ii. 106; iii. 558; 559; iv. 760.
Ardaly, ii. 290.
Ardarge, iii. 50.
Ardbaugane, ii. 125, 127.
Ardbrech, iii. 345.
Ardconan, iii. 414.
Ardebuk, i. 346.
Ardechillin, i. 145, 154.
Ardefork, iii. 44, 46, 414.
Ardelach, ii. 377, 378, 379.
Ardendracht, i. 289, 379, 380, 381, 382, 383, 408; ii. 354, 391, 442; iii. 5, 15, 33, 42, 52, 64, 70, 91, 103, 105, 119, 124, 126, 127, 128, 130, 138, 139, 153, 154, 260, 276, 305, 315, 335, 336, 418, 420, 448, 506, 507, 516, 519, 536.
Ardgaich, iv. 371, 394.
Ardgathin, iv. 141, 142, 144, 416, 656, 687, 688.
Ardgith, i. 21; ii. 13; iii. 25, 26, 27, 28, 30, 31; iv. 278, 475.
Ardglassy, iv. 86, 88.
Ardgrane, iii. 31, 32, 33, 34, 35, 36, 37, 38, 128.
Ardgryne, iii. 289.
Ardiffrie, iii. 126, 127, 140, 154.
Ardin, iii. 159, 509.
Ardincross, ii. 59, 327.
Ardintullie, see Boharm.
Ardlach, i. 199.
Ardlair, i. 147, 622; iv. 468, 470, 486, 513, 780.

Ardlane, iv. 580.
Ardlaw, iv. 647.
Ardlayhill, iv. 120, 121, 674, 676.
Ardlethin, i. 308; iii. 20, 38, 39, 40, 153, 156.
Ardley, iii. 35, 566.
Ardlogy, i. 193, 196, 197, 362, 494, 495, 497; ii. 418; iii. 59, 72, 129, 542, 543, 544, 545, 546, 547, 550; iv. 602.
Ardmachin, i. 145, 154.
Ardmachron, iii. 126, 127, 140, 156.
Ardmakorn, iv. 86.
Ardmakren, iv. 88.
Ardmauchtar, iv. 552.
Ardmedden, iii. 414.
Ardmoir, iv. 678.
Ardmurdo, iii. 423, 468; iv. 361, 441, 448, 773, 774.
Ardnabethy, iv. 82.
Ardnabo, iii. 258.
Ardnelie, iii. 499, 505.
Ardo, iii. 71, 75.
Ardoch, iii. 250, 257; iv. 25.
Ardonachyn, iii. 162.
Ardos, Chapel at, i. 285.
Ardoyne, i. 551; iii. 183, 385, 386, 397, 398, 421, 443, 444, 445, 446, 447, 448, 449, 450, 451, 452, 453; iv. 542.
Ardquhardlish, iii. 23.
Ardquhonquhare, iv. 220, 224, 225, 227, 278.
Ardschelly, iii. 162.
Ardufry, i. 390.
Ardone, i. 119; iv. 521, 525, 526.
Ardtrochy, i. 363, 394.
Ardwyne, iv. 179, 180, 308.
Arieburne, iii. 176.
Arkeriis, iv. 435.
Armabeide, iv. 135.
Armagattin, iv. 481.
Armurdicairn, ii. 427.
Arnage, i. 237, 305, 308, 316; ii. 353; iii. 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12, 13, 14, 15, 16, 17, 18, 19, 23, 24, 25, 35, 39, 66, 158
Arneidly, i. 171.
Arnely, iv. 481.
Arnbrig, iv. 532.
Arntullie, ii. 278.
Aroboyk, i. 299; iii. 337.
Arquhadlaw, iii. 16.
Arquhalye, iii. 123, 138.
Arshballagh, iv. 141, 144, 688.
Artamford, i. 276, 405, 406, 407; iv. 23, 54.
Artrach, iii. 49.
Artrochie, iii. 92, 158.
Artroquhy, iii. 28, 30, 91, 150, 156, 158.
Asbachlach, iv. 371, 394.
Aschogill, iii. 159.
Asleed, i. 475.
Aslowane, iv. 423.
Aslown, i. 79, 84, 588; iv. 140.
Astoune, i. 117.
Aswanly, ii. 182, 183.
Atherb, i. 187.
Atnach, ii. 80.
Auchad Madchor, iv. 548.
Auchad-na-glerec, iv. 546.
Auchad Toche Temne, iv. 546.
Auchanachy, i. 15.
Auchanaseis, iii. 467.
Auchanasy, ii. 242; iii. 381.
Auchanyouche, ii. 132, 133, 228, 241, 242.

Aucharnys, iii. 140.
Auchbalacht, iv. 416, 423.
Auchbrake, ii. 295.
Auchdale, i. 373.
Auchencriff, i. 90.
Auchenus, ii. 145.
Aucherb, ii. 438, 440; iv. 20, 23, 28, 53, 557.
Aucherny, iii. 126.
Auchiries, i. 438, 439, 451, 452, 453, 471.
Auchgwhat, iv. 22, 38.
Auchidlie, iv. 418.
Auchillim, iv. 113.
Auchinbady, ii. 310; iii. 542, 586; iv. 350.
Auchinbo, iii. 587.
Auchinchogill, iv. 88.
Auchinclocht, iv. 627.
Auchincross, ii. 73.
Auchincruve, i. 322; iii. 75, 76, 558, 559.
Auchindaner, ii. 221.
Auchindanery, ii. 238.
Auchindaueray, iii. 568.
Auchindecht, ii. 149.
Auchindellen, iv. 491, 492.
Auchindeth, ii. 250.
Auchindoir, iii. 304; iv. 189, 220, 224, 225, 227, 278, 316, 393.
..... parish of, i. 90, 108, 216, 217, 219, 223, 225, 230, 613, 614; ii. 139; iv. 315, 451-459, 776.
Auchindoll, iii. 536.
Auchindown, i. 12, 649; ii. 99, 255, 256, 257.
Auchindrein, i. 643: ii. 84, 86, 88, 91.
Auchinfichlach, i. 523.
Auchinhaglys, ii. 214, 215.
Auchinhive, i. 78, 635.
Auchinhove, ii. 40; iii. 52, 64, 90, 94, 126, 170, 276, 383, 448, 449, 561, 563, 589.
Auchinhovis, ii. 238.
Auchinleck, i. 187; ii. 438, 440.
Auchinleisch, iii. 124.
Auchinleithe, iv. 315.
Auchinloiche, iii. 327.
Auchinmenny, iv. 414.
Auchinquhillater, ii. 88, 91.
Auchinschogill, ii. 350, 352, 353, 355; iii. 126, 507.
Auchinsoigle, i. 467, 471.
Auchintoul, i. 22; ii. 190, 221; iii. 415, 423, 458, 459, 537, 582; iv. 141, 143, 144, 332.
Auchintuin, iv. 88.
Auchinvaird, iii. 34.
Auchinvene, iv. 220, 224, 225, 227, 239, 278.
Auchiry, iii. 121, 122, 123, 124, 126.
Auchkebidy, iv. 341, 396.
Auchlan, i. 484.
Auchleck, i. 339, 349, 350; iii. 59, 72, 75; iv. 20, 23, 28, 53.
Auchlethin, i. 395; iii. 147, 150.
Auchleuchry, i. 289, 379, 380, 382; iii. 436.
Auchlevin, i. 551; iii. 102, 396, 397, 398, 399, 448; iv. 525, 526.
..... Chapel at, i. 550.
Auchlewyne, iv. 179, 180.
Auchlie, ii. 445; iv. 24.
Auchline, iii. 378, 380, 382, 394; iv. 110, 486, 487, 497, 498, 501.
Auchlossin, i. 26, 78, 635; iii. 52, 64, 89, 94, 103, 126, 170, 193, 260, 276, 335, 384, 418, 448, 449, 519, 533, 561, 563, 591.

Auchlown, iv. 25, 657.
Auchlun, ii. 377, 381; iv. 388.
Auchlunies, i. 265.
Auchlunkart, i. 12; ii. 278.
Auchmachar, i. 187; ii. 433, 438, 440; iv. 23, 28, 557.
Auchmachqwhan, iv. 20.
Auchmacludy, ii. 377, 378, 381; iv. 88, 388.
Auchmacoy, i. 361, 362, 363, 366; iii. 53, 86, 89, 90, 91, 92, 421; iv. 41, 570, 571.
..... Chapel at, i. 361.
..... Hospital at, i. 361; iii. 321, 516, 536, 553, 560, 561.
Auchmadies, ii. 278.
Auchmair, i. 616; iii. 391.
Auchmaledy, ii. 432; iv. 22.
Auchmanye, iii. 430; iv. 487, 489.
Auchmasoliche, iii. 337.
Auchmedden, i. 444, 445, 446, 447; ii. 380, 381; iii. 167; iv. 570, 677, 745.
Auchmill, iv. 423.
Auchmolyn, iii. 165.
Auchmor, ii. 45.
Auchmull, iii. 242, 243, 244.
Auchmuniel, i. 187; iv. 19, 22, 28, 557.
Auchmyllane, iv. 219, 227, 255, 278, 317.
Auchmyln, i. 231.
Auchnacant, iii. 117; iv. 418, 422, 770.
Auchnagat, i. 407; ii. 432; iv. 22, 26, 780.
Auchnagorth, iv. 677.
Auchnahamparis, iii. 33, 230, 299, 487, 490; iv. 626.
Auchnahuf, iii. 52, 64, 90, 94, 126, 170.
Auchnahyle, ii. 307.
Auchnamonze, iii. 536.
Auchnarie, iv. 585, 588.
Auchnastank, ii. 267; iv. 460, 461.
Auchnawis, iii. 143.
Auchneif, iv. 393, 394, 399.
Auchnive, i. 199, 334, 338, 345, 346, 360; iii. 43, 72, 73, 74, 411, 468.
Auchniwnyel, ii. 438, 440.
Auchnoule, iii. 36, 187, 195, 351.
Aucholzie, i. 640.
Auchorsk, i. 540; ii. 134, 135; iii. 327, 387, 388, 427, 470, 471; iv. 351, 353, 627.
Auchorthie, i. 492.
Auchorties, i. 265, 266, 273, 334; ii. 149, 251; iii. 60, 61, 72, 258, 387, 388, 389, 482; iv. 351, 353, 583, 584.
Auchoury, ii. 44, 45.
Auchquharnie, iii. 158.
Auchquhat, iv. 578, 579.
Auchquhennanye, ii. 149, 250.
Auchquhoynie, iv. 627.
Auchquhyrtin, iii. 328.
Auchqwhorchy, i. 540; iii. 470.
Auchqwottrie, ii. 445.
Auchqwyok, iii. 258, 259.
Auchrathy, i. 189; ii. 417; iv. 556.
Auchredie, iii. 50.
Auchredy, see New Deer, Parish of.
Auchrenie, i. 399.
Auchriachan, ii. 308.
Auchriny, i. 240; ii. 403, 405.
Auchroddy, iv. 580, 581.
Auchronie, i. 252; iii. 327, 329.
Auchry, i. 460, 473, 474, 475; iii. 159, 509, 542; iv. 120, 444, 674, 750, 751.

Auchschellow, iii. 126, 127.
Auchstuckis, i. 237; iv. 612.
Auchterarne, ii. 10, 11, 12; iii. 53, 257, 553; iv. 445, 446, 447.
Auchtercuill, ii. 59; iv. 361, 445, 446.
Auchterdurris, iii. 306.
Auchterellon, i. 21, 307, 308, 318, 319; iii. 17, 18, 27, 28, 41, 42, 43, 49, 66, 80, 340, 421, 551, 563.
Auchterfoul, i. 85, 86.
Auchterhouse, iii. 135, 136, 168, 232, 234, 370, 508.
Auchterless, i. 117, 121; ii. 329; iii. 64, 90, 221, 510, 511, 572; iv. 41.
..... Parish of, i. 87, 94, 97, 98, 145, 158, 218, 220, 222, 224, 229, 505—508, 561; iii. 560—572.
Auchterrony, i. 231.
Auchtidore, ii. 445.
Auchtielair, iv. 87.
Auchtigall, iv. 589.
Auchtmonzell, iv. 552.
Auchtydonald, i. 159, 404, 413; ii. 445, 446; iv. 24, 25, 34.
Auchyauch, iv. 577.
Auchyeocht, iv. 578, 579.
Auchynanie, ii. 242.
Auchynlown, iii. 77, 78, 79, 84, 93.
Auchynmare, ii. 263.
Auchyoch, iv. 23.
Audache, see Haddo.
Audehan, i. 385.
Audene, iv. 626, 630.
Audiale, i. 457, 458; iv. 61, 62, 64, 132.
Aughinstuiks, ii. 263.
Auhadlie, i. 322.
Auhakorty, i. 408.
Auhcrauthis, i. 407.
Auhelit, i. 407.
Auhethas, i. 407; ii. 442.
Auhetherb, i. 407; ii. 442.
Auldbray, iv. 575.
Auldcass, iii. 335.
Auldcraig, iii. 438, 454.
Auldfaulds, iii. 355.
Auldknox, ii. 432.
Auldleslie, iv. 507, 509, 511.
Auldmad, ii. 438, 440.
Auldnakeist, iv. 780.
Auldquhat, ii. 433; iv. 578, 579.
Auldvanyche, iv. 665.
Aurnehall, iv. 99.
Auskallocht, iv. 423.
Ausslone, iv. 144.
Authie, i. 422.
Avach, iv. 115.
Aversweythock, iii. 504, 505.
Avyrhillis, iv. 144.
Awdy, iv. 320.
Awne, Foresta del, i. 122; ii. 146, 273.

Baad Chraskie, ii. 8.
Bacheris, iv. 416, 417.
Backhill, iv. 39.
Badarach, iii. 294, 300.
Baddenapetis, iv. 144.
Baddinscoth, iii. 572.
Baddiscoller, iv. 676.
Baddynyone, i. 613; iv. 219, 227, 255, 278.
Badenscoth, i. 507, 508.
Badevin, iv. 686.
Badforsky, ii. 438, 440; iv. 20, 23, 28, 557.
Badfothellis, see Pitfoddels.
Badichale, i. 504; ii. 332, 377, 378, 379.
Badiechells, North, iii. 415.

Badifurrow, i. 582, 583; iv. 507, 512.
Badinfuir, ii. 359.
Badinly iv 423.
Badintoy, iii. 535.
Badintweis, iv. 423.
Badivine, iv. 140, 145, 146.
Badnagir, ii. 232.
Badochayse, iii. 429, 543.
Badorosky, i. 189; ii. 417.
Badvena, i. 258.
Badycaiss, iii. 552, 553.
Baidis of Collane, ii. 371.
Bailliestoun, iii. 226, 242, 243, 244, 316.
Bakiehill, iii. 572.
Bakieley, ii. 396.
Baky, iii. 121, 122, 123, 513, 514, 515; iv. 66, 67, 69.
Balbedy, ii. 30.
Balbithan, i. 574; iii. 85, 227, 424, 425; iv. 507, 512.
Balblair, iii. 71.
Balcarne, iii. 413, 415, 416.
Balcharn, iii. 363, 365; iv. 88.
Balchemy, iv. 324, 326, 327, 328, 329, 753.
Balchirie, i. 615; iv. 460, 462.
Balcomy, iii. 405; iv. 519, 523.
Balcony, ii. 263.
Balcross, iv. 382, 411, 412, 421, 422, 423.
Baldavie, ii. 116, 117, 118, 134, 140.
Baldevin, iv. 423.
Baldulsy, iv. 580.
Baldwinstoune, i. 145.
Balemore, i. 78.
Balfluig, i. 79, 587.
Balfosk, iii. 503.
Balfour, i. 147; ii. 76; iv. 416, 423, 426, 485.
Balfuthachy, iii. 363, 365.
Balgeirso, iv. 26.
Balghyl, ii. 428.
Balgownie, i. 151, 154, 231, 352; iii. 63, 67, 153, 157, 165, 169, 175, 288; iv. 399, 485.
..... Bridge of, see Don, Bridge of.
Balgranny, iv. 665.
Balhagartie, i. 116, 538, 539; iii. 53, 54, 374, 375, 376, 440; iv. 507. 738.
Balhangy, iv. 120.
Balhelvy, iv. 399.
Balkarne, iv. 384.
Balkery, iv. 461.
Ballach, i. 13.
Ballach-Bui, i. 78, 642.
Ballaclagan, ii. 89, 91.
Ballantorre, iv. 538.
Ballater, iv. 499.
Ballcomie, iii. 288.
Balldomin, iv. 548.
Ballebeg, iv. 472, 473.
Ballebrody, ii. 73.
Ballekadlach, iv. 715.
Ballinaboith, iv. 475.
Ballinbreich, i. 595; iii. 553, 554; iv. 319, 320, 321, 324, 325, 332, 335.
Ballindache, iii. 53, 210, 224, 225, 460.
Ballindene, i. 606; iv. 350.
Ballinderane, iv. 319.
Ballindoche, iii. 514.
Ballingall, v. 319.
Ballingowin, iv. 481.
Ballintamore, iv. 219, 227, 277.
Ballintobir, iv. 538.
Ballnamene, ii. 238.
Ballobeg, iv. 233.
Ballochbegy, iv. 465.

Ballocrag, iv. 475.
Ballogie, i. 636; ii. 38.
..... see Tillysnaught.
Ballquhorsk, iii. 504, 505.
Ballumby, iii. 139, 166, 167.
Balmacalye, iii. 51; iv. 22.
Balmacathill, i. 360.
Balmacloych, iii. 26.
Balmacoy, iii. 27, 48, 149.
Balmad, iii. 193, 260, 335, 340, 385, 418, 448, 533, 537, 551.
Balmady, i. 231; iii. 165, 167.
Balmak, i. 467.
Balmakellie, iii. 244; iv. 578, 579.
Balmaly, i. 286.
Balmalyne, iii. 506.
Balmane, iv. 320.
Balmariot, ii. 263.
Balmatuthyll, iii. 140, 183.
Balmire, iv. 24.
Balmoral, i. 641; ii. 85, 89, 91.
..... Chapel at, i. 641; ii. 85.
Balmowto, iii. 335.
Balmulo, iv. 319.
Balmure, ii. 434; iv. 66, 67, 68, 69, 70, 437, 589, 590, 591, 592, 593.
Balnabooth, i. 147; iv. 219, 227, 255, 277.
Balnacraig, i. 635; ii. 33, 36; iii. 20, 21, 38, 39, 238, 335, 520.
Balnadallach, i. 11; ii. 292, 294, 295, 296, 300.
Balnadodyl, ii. 43, 45.
Balnagask, i. 261; iii. 250.
Balnageats, iii. 559.
Balnaglak, iv. 475.
Balnakeddil, iii. 82, 83, 93.
Balnakeley, iv. 322, 323, 324 326, 327, 328, 329.
Balnauthil, i. 390.
Balnerosk, i. 585.
Balnourel, Chapel at, i. 642; ii. 84.
Balquhain, i. 79, 90, 528, 530, 537, 541, 563; iii. 35, 37, 53, 64, 89, 105, 115, 151, 157, 185, 260, 276, 278, 279, 305, 315, 335, 371, 372, 375, 376, 377, 378, 381, 382, 408, 418, 424, 471, 586; iv. 532.
Balquhathie, iii. 559.
Balquholly, i. 21, 464, 465, 466; iii. 20, 128, 511.
Balquhonie, iv. 255, 277.
Balquhorn, iii. 258.
Balquhynnochie, iii. 159.
Balskamsy, iii. 156.
Balvack, i. 170, 171.
..... St. Mary's Chapel at, i. 585.
Balvanie, i. 11, 12, 15, 72, 123, 135, 649; ii. 253, 255, 256, 257, 265, 290; iii. 204, 210; iv. 115.
Balvirie, iii. 88, 116.
Balwoley, iii. 122.
Banakettill, i. 120.
Banatuch, iii. 71.
Banchory, i. 265, 266; iii. 567.
..... Campana S. Terrenani de, ii. 63.
..... St. Devenick or Nether Banchory, i. 77, 78, 200, 268, 269, 270, 271, 272; iii. 113; iv. 111, 11 2.
.... Parish of, i. 72, 85, 141, 145, 157, 215, 218, 221, 223, 226, 264-274; iii. 253-288.
..... St. Ternan, or Upper Banchory, i. 26; ii. 61, 62, 64.
.... Parish of, i. 25, 38, 41, 72, 77, 216, 218, 219 223, 226,

294, 516, 562, 637-639; ii. 50-67, 119, 120, 121, 122, 123.
Bandlie, iv. 140, 145, 146, 686.
Bandowie, iii. 225.
Banff, i. 17, 18, 35, 70, 107, 123, 127, 146, 199, 477; ii. 111, 128, 129, 130, 131, 234, 312, 327, 369, 370; iii. 34, 435, 443, 512, 524, 530.
..... Castle of, ii. 112, 113, 114, 130, 315.
..... Forest of, ii. 109, 410.
..... Hospital at, ii. 114.
..... Monastery of Carmelite or White Friars in, i. 69, 205; ii. 114, 115.
..... Franciscan or Gray Friars in, i. 69, 205.
..... Mons castri de, iii. 581.
..... Parish of, i. 216, 218, 220, 222, 225, 227, 228, 645-646; ii. 59, 110-135.
Bannacadill, iv. 25.
Baquharis, iii. 82.
Baquharne, iv. 541.
Barclay, iii. 390.
Barglassy, iv. 341, 401, 419.
Barmekin, The, i. 619.
Barnhill, iii. 67.
Barnes, i. 118, 550, 551; iii. 193, 260, 335, 341, 374, 375, 387, 398, 400, 401, 418, 552.
Barnetoun, iii. 383.
Barra, i. 23, 359, 564; iv. 20, 29, 557.
..... St. John's Chapel at, i. 564.
Barrak, i. 406; iv. 22.
..... Druidical Temple at, i. 406.
Barrackseat, iv. 39, 564, 566.
Barrane, iii. 564, 570.
Barranch de Bourty, iii. 33, 103, 151, 221, 418, 419, 421, 450, 477, 536.
Barraucht, i. 117.
Barre, ii. 410, 420, 426, 427.
Barrie, i. 187.
Bass of Inverury, i. 126, 127, 583.
Bawbegno, iii. 47.
Bawdene, iv. 350, 353, 355, 362.
Bawhinti, iv. 325.
Baybush, iii. 414.
Baybuss, ii. 443.
Beggisley, iv. 308.
Beginge, iv. 317.
Begishill, iii. 512, 520.
Begynnand, iv. 657.
Beildestoun, iv. 361, 678, 745.
Beilty, i. 118.
Beriflat, iv. 423.
Belache, ii. 232, 234.
Belcors, iii. 534; iv. 382, 771.
Beldestone, i. 112.
Beldornie, i. 129; ii. 181, 183.
Beldygordone, ii. 161.
Beledy, ii. 36.
Belfedy, ii. 75.
Belhelvie, i. 116, 234, 286, 288, 396; iii. 47, 126.
..... Berclay, i. 289.
..... Boneville, i. 289.
..... Parish of, 88, 145, 157, 215, 218, 219, 223, 224, 229, 285-291; iii. 215, 330-337.
..... Thanedom of, i. 286, 287, 289; iii. 334, 335, 336.
Belhinti, iv. 326.
Bellabeg, i. 616, 617; iv. 255.
Bellie, Parish of, ii. 152, 267-274.
..... St. Ninian's Chapel in, ii. 267.
Belnaboddach, i. 616.

Belnaboth, iv. 449.
..... Chapel at, i. 611.
Belnaglak, ii. 184.
Belsise, iii. 135.
Belteis, iii. 32, 306, 340.
Belthomar, iv. 255.
Belwoss, i. 487.
Benachard, i. 252.
Benacragie, i. 78.
Benchye, Foresta de, iv. 716.
Bendache, iv. 308.
Benochie, Forest of, i. 90, 538; iii. 382, 406, 440; iv. 526.
Benrinnes, ii. 257.
Benvells, ii. 438, 441.
Benwalls, i. 187.
Benwellis, iv. 20, 23, 28, 556, 557.
Berriebra, iv. 636.
Berriehills, iii. 168, 169.
Bethelnie, i. 560, 562; iii. 71, 412, 414.
..... See Meldrum, Parish of.
Betht, iii. 244.
Beufort, iv. 66.
Bidben, iv. 546, 547.
Biffie, i. 187; ii. 438, 440; iv. 20, 23, 28, 557.
Binn, iii. 74.
Biris, iii. 587.
Birkenbog, i. 17, 122, 644; ii. 95.
Birkhall, i. 640.
Birkinbrewill, iv. 317.
Birkinburn, ii. 149, 242, 250.
Birnes, i. 362, 363; iii. 4, 31, 49, 50, 192.
Birse, i. 25, 76, 77, 78, 120, 147; ii. 75, 76, 78, 79, 80; iii. 369.
Birse, Parish of, i. 36, 145, 158, 217, 219, 223, 225, 226, 229, 634; ii. 75-80; iii. 406; iv. 354.
Birsebeg, ii. 76.
Bishop's Loch, see Loch Goul.
Bishopston, iii. 210.
Bithine, iv. 423.
Bitht, iii. 510.
Blachele, iv. 25.
Blachrie, i. 504; ii. 332; iii. 415.
Blackbank, ii. 312; iii. 127.
Blackeboggys, iv. 716.
Black Delffes, ii. 371.
Blackfauld, ii. 396.
Blackfurd, i. 507, 508; iii. 563, 572.
Blackhall, i. 583; ii. 68; iii. 14, 65, 78, 103, 151, 340, 342, 407, 448, 450, 470, 474, 475, 476, 516, 519, 551, 557, 561, 590, 592.
Blackhill, i. 252; iii. 329.
Blackhouse, ii. 441; iii. 419; iv. 589.
Blackinches, iii. 388.
Blacklands, iii. 239.
Blackmiddingis, iv. 465.
Black Moiss, ii. 371.
Blackmyll, ii. 13; iv. 445, 446.
Black Myre, ii. 371.
Blacktoun, i. 482, 487; iii. 525, 534, 535, 542, 557; iv. 88, 382, 411, 412, 413, 416, 421, 422, 423, 770.
Blackwatter, iv. 598.
Blackwod, iii. 527.
Blagarach, iii. 417.
Blair, iii. 419.
Blaircheltie, iv. 422.
Blairdaff, i. 540; iii. 387, 388, 389, 470; iv. 351, 353.
Blairdynny, iii. 370, 380, 382.
Blairfindie, i. 11; ii. 296, 300.
Blairfoull, iii. 63, 67.
Blairmacogamgor, i. 298; iii. 337.
Blairmormond, i. 430; iii. 158; iv. 102, 103, 635, 636, 649.

Blairquharrage, iv. 538.
Blairquhatoun, iv. 636.
Blairschilie, iv. 770.
Blairshinnoch, ii. 110, 219.
Blairtoune, i. 120, 289; iii. 47, 212, 361.
Blalok, ii. 8; iv. 218, 219, 255, 277, 278, 739.
Blalthangy, iv. 674.
Blarbury, i. 338.
Blarbuthe, i. 337.
Blarechelle, iv. 418.
Blarequhelle, iii. 117.
Blaris, i. 296; iii. 342.
Blarkerocche, ii. 71.
Blexboig, ii. 445.
Blodie Pots, i. 101; ii. 312.
Bocharnye, iv. 115.
Bochram, ii. 257, 265.
Boddom, i. 414, 418; iii. 208, 409; iv. 143, 589.
Bodichaill, iv. 647.
Bodindeweill, i. 78.
Bogfairly, i. 237; iii. 215, 218.
Bogfecchill, iii. 72, 75.
Bogfochel, i. 145, 342, 349, 350.
Bogfurr, iii. 482.
Boggs, iii. 400; iv. 513.
..... Chapel at, i. 285.
Boghedis, iii. 239.
Boghole, see Rosehall.
Bogholme, iii. 468.
Bogin, Chapel at, i. 631.
Bogislyes, iii. 225.
Boglugy, ii. 238.
Bogmochill, ii. 329.
Bogmothill, i. 504; ii. 271.
Bognie, i. 520; ii. 324.
..... Chapel at, i. 519.
Bog-of-Gicht, i. 14, 519; ii. 118, 269, 271; iii. 139.
Boguehouses, iii. 67.
Bogue of Mountblairy, ii. 311.
Bogy, iii. 378, 380; iv. 490.
Bogys-chellocht, iv. 538, 539.
Boharm, ii. 265, 270, 275, 279.
..... Capella de, ii. 147, 279,
..... Parish of, i. 123; ii. 147, 148, 151, 152, 275-288.
Boiggosies, iv. 309.
Boighead, iv. 317, 565, 566.
Boiginjose, iii. 225; iv. 309.
Boigis, iv. 316.
Boigstoun, iv. 665.
Boigsyd, ii. 445.
Bolgy, iv. 380.
Bolquham, iv. 219, 227.
Bomakilly, ii. 433, 442, 443.
Bonabunyeon, iii. 127.
Bougedwort, iv. 379, 731.
Bonniehillock, iii. 415.
Bounzatoune, iv. 135.
Bonyntoun, iii. 33, 35, 303, 378, 379, 382, 429, 440.
Boquhan, iv. 475.
Boquhorn, iv. 233.
Bord, iii. 201, 202.
Borflatt, iv. 316.
Borrowhauch, iv. 239.
Borrowley, iii. 31, 37.
Botarie, Parish of, ii. 133, 147, 148, 149, 150, 151, 156, 157, 162, 163, 179, 186-188; iv. 64, 567.
Bothelnyis, iii. 7.
Bothmacaly, iv. 50, 116.
Bothmagoah, ii. 393.
Bothum, iii. 53.
Botrichin, ii. 265.

Botriffny, Parish of, i. 123; ii. 147, 148, 170, 253, 280, 281, 282, 292.
Botwaglach, iv. 715.
Bouch, i. 199.
Bourishill, iii. 89.
Bourtie, i. 117, 120; iii. 14, 64, 90, 264, 369, 416, 417, 418, 450, 477, 504, 505, 519, 536, 590, 591, 592; iv. 486, 525, 526, 725, 726.
..... Parish of, i. 87, 89, 91, 218, 220, 225, 230, 563-568; iii. 416-419.
Boutre, iv. 99.
Bovak, i. 121.
Bowhill, iv. 407.
Bownes, see Slains.
..... Chapel at, i. 376.
Bowrhills, iii. 158.
Boyndie, i. 200; ii. 124.
Boyndie, Parish of, i. 122, 220, 222, 225, 227, 228, 646, 647; ii. 59, 110-135.
Boyndis, iii. 206, 207; iv. 308.
Boyne, i. 13, 14, 17, 18, 72, 121; ii. 118, 130, 132, 133, 146, 329; iii. 307, 371, 465, 472, 530, 538, 580.
..... Castle of, i. 647; ii. 116.
..... Rural Deanery of, i. 69, 216, 218.
..... Thanedom of, ii. 118, 131, 132.
Boynlie, i. 449, 450, 451.
Brabustermire, iv. 76.
Bracbenoch, Custodia de, i. 510, 511, 512, 515, 517.
Brachlie, iv. 538.
Brackhillock, iii. 559.
Brackox, i. 411.
Braco, i. 528; iii. 471, 472, 473, 474; iv. 110.
..... Chapel at, i. 527.
Bradelaw, iii. 127, 154.
Bradfoord, iii. 396.
Bradhauch, iv. 423.
Brae, iii. 395.
Braemar, i. 35, 36, 76, 78, 84, 86, 119; ii. 87, 91; iv. 236, 275, 743, 744, 747.
..... Duke's Castle at, i. 643.
Braemar, Parish of i. 36, 70, 73, 85, 86, 170, 178, 217, 219, 223, 225, 229, 641-643; ii. 82-93; iv. 694.
Braichlie, i. 640.
Braids-chaw, iv. 219, 227, 255, 278.
Braikeshill, iv. 48.
Brakanis, iv. 417.
Brakhall, ii. 238.
Braklaw, i. 351; iii. 59, 72.
Braklawmoir, iv. 88.
Brakours, iv. 88.
Braky, iii. 72.
Braland, iv. 316.
Brarodach, iii. 347.
Brawlingknow, Chapel at, ii. 173, 175.
Bray, iv. 542.
Breadhauche, iv. 141, 143.
Brecachath, i. 172.
Brechulath, i. 337.
Brecok, iv. 86.
Brecokmore, iv. 86.
Bredda, i. 79, 587.
Brekauche, iv. 111, 112.
..... Litill, iv. 106.
Brekkereth, i. 336.
Brekor, ii. 521; iv. 388.
..... Vor, iii. 521; iv. 86, 122, 388.

Brekrav, iii. 273.
Brenin, ii. 301, 303.
Bretone de Curtestone, iii. 419.
Bridistoune, iii. 513; iv. 67, 68.
Brigend, iv. 316, 366, 367, 369, 423.
Brigham, ii. 417.
Brighows, iv. 23.
Brighwch, iv. 326.
Brinnie, i. 90, 550.
Brinthous, i. 364.
Broadwards, iii. 559.
Broclaycht, iv. 578.
Brodland, i. 425, 426; iv. 404, 594, 595.
..... Rattray, ii. 396; iv. 77, 78, 79.
Brogane, i. 390, 394.
..... Leask, iii. 148, 149, 153.
Brokakis, ii. 367.
Brokeistoun, iv. 651.
Bronie, i. 309, 344, 349.
Broomfield, iii. 37.
Broomhill, i. 476; iv. 22, 579.
Brounfauld, iv. 595.
Brounhill, i. 475.
Brounsyde, iv. 588, 627.
Brovinhill, iv. 578.
Broxmouthe, iii. 511.
Broyinehill, ii. 433.
Brucehill, ii. 438, 440.
Bruckhills, iii. 572.
Bruckhillseat, iii. 559.
Brucklaw, i. 19, 405, 406, 407, 411; iv. 50, 579, 598.
Brumehill, iii. 512; iv. 146, 147.
Brumshill, iv. 28.
Brunchill, i. 187.
Brunehill, iv. 565.
Bruntbray, ii. 432; iv. 578, 579.
Brunthill, iii. 31.
Bruntoun, iv. 627.
Bruntstone, i. 476.
Brutherfeild, iv. 542.
Brux, i. 79, 591; iii. 408, 510; iv. 314, 315, 318, 443, 449, 750, 751.
Bruxie, i. 187, 398, 399, 401, 406; ii. 438, 440; iv. 20, 21, 23, 28, 557.
Brwishill, iv. 20, 22.
Brwne, iv. 481.
Brydiswall, iv. 329.
Buchaam, i. 616, 617.
Buchan, Bullers of, i. 97.
Buchangy, i. 408.
Buchan-ness, i. 11, 20, 72; iv. 107, 109.
Buchan, Rural Deanery of, i. 69, 216, 217, 219, 292.
Buchanstoune, i. 119; iii. 449; iv. 521, 542.
Buchragie, i. 17; ii. 116.
Buchrommys, ii. 264.
Buck, iv. 166, 167, 393.
Buckie, i. 648; iii. 648.
Bucksbourn, i. 237.
Bucksmoss, i. 237.
Buleske, ii. 154.
Bulgeny, ii. 377, 378.
Bulgny, ii. 381; iv. 113, 388, 657.
Bundys, i. 538, 539.
Bunzeoch, iv. 665.
Burchis, iv. 158, 441.
Burghfield, ii. 396.
Burgus-aet Stanis, ii. 312.
Burnegairne, iii. 415.
Burnegreinis, iv. 564, 566.
Burnehill, iv. 557.
Burnend, iii. 50.
Burnes, iii. 67.

Burneside, iii. 350, 559.
Burnhedis, iv. 464.
Burntack, iii. 50.
Burntbrae, iv. 22, 40.
Burrahill, iv. 585, 588.
Burroleris, ii. 237.
Burrowlands de Furetoune, iii. 239.
Burrowmyre, iv. 238.
Busk, iv. 86.
Butchill, ii. 225.
Butharry, ii. 155.
Buthirgask, iii. 513; iv. 66, 69.
Buthlaw, i. 413; ii. 445; iv. 69, 70, 71, 590, 591, 592, 595.
Buthny, iv. 426.
Buthquhanyoquhy, iii. 509.
Butlo, iv. 24.
Byermos, ii. 428.
Byth, i. 445, 489; ii. 360; iii. 483, 525, 527, 528, 529, 530, 542; iv. 116, 444, 750, 751.

Cabieswallis, iv. 407.
Cabrach, i. 15, 121; iv. 166, 167, 189, 393, 746, 748.
..... Foresta de, i. 616.
..... Parish of, i. 70, 108, 141, 148, 217, 219, 223, 225, 230, 615 616, 649; iv. 148, 460-466, 777.
Cadgerfuird, ii. 371.
Cadgerhill, ii. 445.
Caetrin Stryp, ii. 427.
Caikinche, iv. 557, 558.
Caikmald, iii. 156.
Cairnbanno, i. 187, 407.
Cairnbo, i. 103.
Cairnborrow, i. 15; ii. 183; iii. 70.
Cairnbrogie, i. 334, 336; iii. 59, 61.
Cairnbulg, i. 19, 452; iv. 86, 88, 98, 99, 102, 103, 104, 645, 649.
Cairn Corsse, i. 77.
Cairndai, i. 636.
Cairndalzie of Arnage, iii. 23.
Cairndradlane, iv. 361.
Cairne, iii. 415.
Cairneamounthe, i. 77.
Cairnekempsie, iii. 158.
Cairnes, i. 429, 430; iv. 684.
Cairnewichies, iv. 48.
Cairnfield, i. 151; iii. 175.
..... see Balgownie.
Cairngall, i. 413; ii. 433, 445; iii. 438, 454; iv. 24.
Cairnglas, ii. 394; iv. 77, 78, 79, 135, 594, 595.
Cairngorm, ii. 292, 299.
Cairngormbeg, ii. 292.
Cairnhill, i. 476; iii. 158.
Cairnhills, ii. 238.
Cairnlob, iii. 159.
Cairnmurnin, i. 451.
Cairn-na-cuimhne, ii. 85.
Cairnorie, iii. 559.
Cairnoveil, i. 252.
Cairns, iii. 159.
Cairnslaw, ii. 367.
Cairntoune, ii. 117.
Cairntradlin, iii. 167, 242, 243, 244.
Cairntyssie of Arnage, iii. 23.
Cairnwall, Hospital at, i. 642; ii. 84.
Caise, iv. 117.
Caismilne, iv. 308.
Caldham, iii. 388.
Caldwells, iii. 33, 34, 35, 36,
Calentar, iii. 93, 268, 324, 444.
Calfoitye, iv. 366.
Calhay, iv. 423, 426.

Calkensh, ii. 441.
Callerte, i. 390.
Calsaymonthe, i. 77.
Calvala, iii. 87.
Calyivaar, i. 608.
Calzebroche, iii. 514.
Cambusbarron, iii. 381.
Cambusnakeist, ii. 88, 91.
Camby, ii. 73.
Camdale, St. Bride's Chapel at, ii. 306.
Camestone, i. 524.
Cammiestain, iii. 67.
Camnay, see Kemnay.
Camphel, i. 631; ii. 6, 38; iii. 329, 330.
Camquhill, iv. 381.
Camrisilick, i. 299.
Canakyle, i. 25, 77, 78, 86, 640; ii. 81.
Candallan, i. 311; iii. 5.
Canny, i. 26; ii. 4, 5, 6, 52, 55, 56.
Canterland, iii. 128.
Capell Monthe, i. 77, 640
Capeltone, iv. 449.
Capildray, iii. 251.
Caprastoune, iii. 197.
Caput, iii. 125, 150.
Caraldstoune, iii. 510.
Carden, iii. 98.
Cardenauche, forest of, i. 404.
Cardene, iii. 447.
Cardenys, i. 280; iii. 317, 328
Cardnye, ii. 49.
Cardonhill of Arnage, iii. 23.
Cardrum, i. 337, 562; iii. 415.
Cards Hill, ii. 241.
Carinaloquhy, iv. 465.
Caringusy, ii. 218.
Carkinsche, ii. 438.
Carlingden, iv. 423.
Carlogie, iv. 627.
Carmuk, i. 315; iii. 27, 28, 30, 31, 37, 123, 154.
Carnabo, iii. 504, 505.
Carnahard, i. 154.
Carnakerde, iii. 162.
Carnavalage, i. 77.
Carnaveran, i. 587; iii. 498, 499; iv. 141, 145, 416, 423, 656.
Carnbanno, iv. 22, 28.
Carnbrogy, i. 261.
Carnbrowys, iii. 230.
Carncors, iv. 116.
Carnculter, i. 452.
Carne, iv. 585.
Carnebannocht, ii. 438, 440; iv. 19, 552, 557.
Carnecewt, iv. 334.
Carnecouly, iv. 331, 332, 333, 334, 335.
Carnedard, iv. 423, 425.
Carnedell, iv. 556.
Carnehill, i. 301, 304; iv. 417, 421, 422, 423, 771.
Carnelstoun, iii. 408.
Carnemoir, iv. 665.
Carness, iv. 82, 594, 595.
Carnetoune, iii. 350.
Carnetrailyeane, i. 112; iv. 678, 745.
Carnfochil, i. 351; iii. 59, 72, 75.
Carnie, iii. 329; iv. 320.
Carnie Mount, see Mounth.
Carnieriking, i. 451.
Carnmuir, i. 453.
Carnomor, iv. 331.
Carnousie, i. 22, 510, 518.
Carnoussexth, ii. 216.
Carnousyis, iii. 587.
Carnowne, i. 524.

Carnulsy, ii. 217.
Carnwrqwheis, iv. 21, 23.
Carnyly, iii. 166, 167.
Carnywhinge, iii. 521; iv. 86, 122, 388.
Carron, ii. 290, 291.
Carryhill, iv. 782.
Cartillhaugh, iv. 37.
Carvie, i. 616.
Carwechin, iv. 565.
Carwethin, iii. 196, 512.
Carynvyngs, iv. 122.
Carynyndard, iv. 416.
Caskieben, i. 23, 79, 90, 116, 570; ii. 37; iii. 421, 422, 429, 552; iv. 308.
Cassingray, iii. 159, 160.
Castle Conzie, ii. 325.
Castlefield, ii. 136.
Castle Forbes, i. 90, 608, 609.
Castle Fraser, see Mucballs.
Castlehill, iv. 416, 423, 425, 432.
Castletoun, iii. 34; iv. 518.
Castletoun of Braemar, i. 24, 77; ii. 88, 91.
Castletoun of King-Edward, i. 486; iii. 523.
..... in Rayne, iii. 382.
Castlewallis, iv. 423.
Catcairn, iv. 110.
Cathinche, iv. 29.
Cathnelpy, ii. 128.
Catirlocht, iii. 521; iv. 122.
Cattie, iii. 415.
Caulsay Port, i. 266.
Cautey, iii. 59, 60, 61, 62.
Cavillismilne, iv. 507, 512.
Cavillyne, iv. 160.
Ceandacraig, i. 616.
Channerahill, iv. 636.
Chapel of Garioch, iii. 440, 441.
.... Parish of, iii. 369-390, 440.
Chapelhill, iii. 159, 160.
Chappell, iii. 67.
Chappellhouse, iii. 415.
Chappelton, iv. 566.
Chappelton in Drumblait, i. 476; iii. 512.
.... Chapel at, i. 475.
..... de Essilmont, iii. 16, 17, 18, 20, 158.
..... in Fraserburgh, Chapel at, i. 433.
..... in the Garioch, i. 551.
..... in Leslie, iii. 374, 387, 391, 395.
.... Chapel at, i. 545.
..... in Methlick, Chapel at, i. 320.
..... in New Deer, Chapel at, i. 405.
..... de Scheves, iii. 70, 559.
Chaurahill, iii. 159.
Chethynrawache, see Schethynrawestone.
Chreichen Ade, i. 498.
..... Walter, i. 498.
Christis Kirk, i. 121, 444; iii. 406; iv. 504, 507, 509, 511, 512, 513, 514, 515.
Cknokinglas, see Knockinglews.
Clachnelle, iv. 449.
Clackriach, see Glackriach.
Claithburne, ii. 370.
Claithden, ii. 370.
Claithfauldis, ii. 370.
Claretwell, ii. 312.
Clatt, i. 27, 143, 144, 148, 155, 620, 622; iv. 380.
..... Parish of, i. 89, 91, 157, 166, 215, 218, 221, 223, 225, 226, 230, 620-622; iii. 382; iv. 485-501.

Clatt, Schira de, iii. 378.
Clayhills, i. 315.
Clayhills in Ellon, iii. 30, 31, 37.
Claymilne, iv. 368, 369.
Claymyres, iii. 159.
Cleland, iii. 197.
Clentre, iv. 614.
Clerkhill, i. 187; ii. 438, 440; iv. 19, 23, 27, 557, 589.
Clerkingtoun, iii. 172, 383, 571.
Clerk Sett, ii. 238.
Clintertie, iv. 120, 121, 673, 674, 676.
Clochbyne, ii. 367.
Clochcan, iv. 578, 579.
Clochindistone, ii. 232.
Clochmacreich, ii. 100.
Clochnaben, i. 89; ii. 71.
Clochnuly, i. 407.
Clochorby, i. 483, 484; iii. 532, 533, 534.
Clochtcan, ii. 432.
Clochtow, i. 390.
Clochy, iii. 51.
Cloc-in-Tiprat, iv. 546.
Cloc-Pette-mic-Garnait, iv. 546.
Cloichtow, iii. 140, 153, 154.
Clonye, ii. 88, 91.
Cloughmaugh, i. 476.
Clova, i. 616; iii. 37, 381, 391, 400, 468; iv. 163, 166, 219, 220, 224, 225, 227, 255, 278, 317, 487.
Cloveth, see Cabrach, Parish of.
..... Monastery of, i. 145, 169; iv. 460.
Clowdans, i. 101.
Cloy, i. 323.
Cloychok, ii. 36.
Cloyns, iii. 415.
Clubs-corss, iv. 589.
Clubs-govil, iii. 176.
..... St. Mary's Chapel at, i. 236.
..... see Parkhill.
Cluniebeg, ii. 257.
Cluniemore, ii. 257.
Cluny, i. 27, 84, 147, 637; ii. 48, 49, 264; iii. 317, 482, 587; iv. 70, 194, 338, 339, 340, 341, 342, 344, 361, 384, 396, 401, 404, 419, 746.
..... Parish of, i. 85, 217, 219, 223, 225, 227, 228, 637; ii. 48, 49; iii. 482, 503.
Clyntree, see Bishopston.
Clyntrey, i. 240, 241; iii. 220.
Clystirim, i. 648.
Cnoc Castle, ii. 81.
Coathill, iii. 337.
Cobillsete, iv. 144, 145, 656.
Cobleseat, iii. 482.
Cocburn, iv. 378.
Coclarachquhy, capellania Sancte Marie de, iii. 518.
Cofurd, iv. 448.
Coklaw, iv. 66, 68, 69, 70, 437, 589, 590, 591, 592, 593, 595.
Coklo, ii. 434; iv. 24.
Cokuki, see Kakukie.
Colbanyston, iii. 230.
Colbardy, iii. 592.
Colblain, iii. 287.
Colcuquhir, iii. 123.
Coldarach, i. 643; ii. 84.
Coldstane, iii. 459.
..... Parish of, i. 70, 85, 86, 158, 215, 217, 219, 223, 225, 229, 632; ii. 8-12.
Colfork, iv. 141, 143.
Colintoun, iii. 195, 351, 360.
Collane, Auld Haven of, ii. 370, 371.

Collangy, iii. 302.
Colle, i. 199.
Collenard, i. 646.
Collessie, iv. 507, 510.
Collihill, i. 563; iii. 45, 369, 372, 373, 416; iv. 726.
..... Capellania de, iii. 371, 372.
Collilaw, iv. 589.
Collistoun, i. 289, 379, 396; iii. 7, 22, 53, 64, 127, 129, 143, 149, 150, 335, 421.
Collithie, ii. 174.
Colly, iii. 113, 362, 364, 365.
Collyne, i. 120.
Colmyste, iii. 590.
Colp, iii. 512.
Colpie, i. 467, 556, 557.
Colpnaw, i. 285.
Colpne, iii. 47.
Colquhailze, iii. 375, 376.
Colquhork, iv. 143.
Comalowne, i. 498.
Comalegie, iv. 566.
Comeswell, ii. 312.
Commonfurd, ii. 132.
Common Lone, i. 504.
Comoloun, iii. 332.
Comptelache, iv 255.
Concraig, i. 281.
Condiland, iv. 378.
Condoll, iv. 379, 536.
Coneuathe, i. 287, 288; ii. 318, 319.
..... Thanage of, ii. 318.
Conglas, ii. 306, 308.
Conglassy, i. 620.
Conquhonderland, iv. 336, 754.
Contilauche, iv. 219, 227, 278.
Contlaw, iii. 345.
Contlay, iv. 315.
Contulioch, iii. 183.
Convath, iv. 115.
Conveth, see Inverkeithny, Parish of.
Conwauth, Thanagium de, ii. 217.
Conwiltes, i. 407; ii. 442.
Conyeit, iv. 21.
Conzie, iii. 588, 590, 591.
Corbanchory, iv. 330, 331.
Corbe Craig, ii. 237.
Corbie Loch, i. 236.
Corbishill, ii. 443; iv. 578, 579.
Corbyhill, iv. 22.
Corchinnan, i. 613.
Cordyse, foresta de, iii. 224, 225.
Cordyss, i. 113.
Corgarf, i. 26, 79, 84, 611, 616; iv. 219, 227, 233, 277.
Corgarth, iv. 475.
Corgurthe, iv. 255.
Corhill, iii. 414.
Coriauchtan, iv. 770.
Corichowl, Chapel at, i. 616.
Coriknuan, iv. 255.
Corincairin, ii. 229.
Coritobrich, i. 172.
Corivran, i. 643.
Corlethny, ii. 74.
Cormore, ii. 38.
Cormoris, iii. 568.
Cornabroicht, iv. 465.
Corncairn, ii. 427.
Cornetoun, iii. 266, 313.
Corquhorny, iv. 541, 542, 543.
Corrachrie, ii. 14.
Correauchlane, iv. 420, 422.
Correcreif, iv. 218, 219, 277, 278, 739.
Corredee, i. 78.
Corremulze, ii. 87, 91.
Correncrare, ii. 109.

Corriauchtane, iv. 423.
Corriedown, iii. 572.
Corryhill, iv. 220, 224, 225, 227, 278.
Corryhoul, iv. 477.
Corrykeynzane, iv. 219, 227.
Corrynuisy, iv. 465.
Cors of Brechmount, i. 300.
Corse, i. 79, 84, 85, 119, 600, 607, 633; iii. 117, 427, 499; iv. 356, 357, 358, 359, 360, 756, 757, 758.
Corsehill of Arnage, iii. 25.
Corsfield, iii. 71.
Cors-gycht, ii. 433, 443; iv. 22, 578, 579.
Corshill, iii. 225; iv. 308.
Corsindawe, iv. 340, 341, 396, 419.
Corsinday, i. 84, 635; iii. 467, 487, 488, 499, 517.
Corskelly, iv. 82.
Corskie, ii. 174, 221.
Corsley, i. 300.
Corsogich, iv. 50.
Corssgeldie, iii. 159.
Cortes, i. 453.
Corthailhows, see Quartailhows.
Cortiemuir, iii. 37.
Cortycrome, iii. 13, 257; iv. 22.
Corunobagen, iv. 449.
Coryche, iv. 36.
Corystane, iv. 565, 566.
Cosalde, i. 172.
Cotteristown, iv. 25.
Cottilstane, iv. 481.
Cotton, iii. 162.
Cottoun of Forglen, iii. 575.
..... of Gight, iii. 559.
Coukschaw, ii. 132.
Coul, i. 86, 119, 261, 344, 352, 607, 633, 640; ii. 26, 30, 31; iii. 59, 72, 73, 74, 75, 301, 302, 308; iv. 118, 356, 358, 397, 641, 693.
..... Parish of, i. 85, 86, 131, 132, 216, 217, 219, 223, 225, 229, 600, 633; ii. 25-32, 59, 120, 121, 122, 123.
Coulcauok, iv. 113.
Coulpersauche, ii. 74.
Countesswells, iv. 542.
Coupland Udoch, iii. 159.
Courtaston, iv. 486.
Courtestoun, iv. 542.
Coutchercairn, iii. 67.
Cove, The, i. 254; iii. 250.
Cowbill, ii. 88, 91.
Cowburtibeg, iv. 105, 113, 659, 661, 663, 665.
Cowburty, iv. 102, 103, 104, 110, 645 648, 649, 657.
Cowclarachy, i. 113, 475, 476; iii. 517, 518.
Cowfuird, iv. 773, 774.
Cowhill, iii. 67, 337; iv. 360.
Cowie of Arnage, iii. 28.
Cowille, iv. 481.
Cowlenys, iii. 532.
Cowllie in Kemnay, iii. 482.
..... in Monymusk, iii. 504, 505.
Cowpersaucht, iv. 627.
Cowstaines, iii. 226.
Cowy, iv. 627, 644.
Crawbedennis, iv. 25.
Crabstone, i. 119, 231, 238, 239, 243; iii. 165, 167, 222, 244; iv. 765, 782.
Crachie, iii. 438, 454.
Cragburne, iv. 144.

Cragcultyr, i. 408.
Cragdufcroft, ii. 250.
Crag-Elie, i. 429, 430.
Cragetarsay, ii. 428.
Cragforthe, iii. 227.
Cragfurd, ii. 429.
Cragingour, iv. 470.
Cragis, iii. 91, 169, 171, 172, 411.
Craglogy, iv. 373, 457, 458.
Cragorthie, iii. 424.
Cragtowie, iv. 533.
Cragwell, ii. 214, 215.
Cragy, iii. 91, 156, 170, 171.
Craig, i. 235; iii. 83, 84, 483; iv. 308, 315.
..... see Ravenscraig.
..... of Boyne, i. 17, 121, 647.
..... in Dyce, iii. 225.
..... of Essyntuly, i. 300.
Craigane, ii. 87, 91.
Craig Castle, i. 613, 614.
Craigearn, iii. 482, 505.
Craigensiore, i. 615.
Craigfintray, iii. 89, 193, 221, 385, 534.
Craigforthie, iv. 507, 512.
Craig-Gush, i. 641.
Craighall, iv. 513.
Craigharr, see Stoneywood.
Craighead, i. 301, 649; iii. 50, 414.
Craigie, i. 287, 356; iii. 10, 18, 59, 60.
Craigiecroft, iii. 150, 156.
Craigievar, i. 27, 79, 84, 598, 599, 601, 606; iii. 33, 35, 52, 65, 78, 105, 222, 242, 257, 260, 276, 305, 335, 340, 375, 384, 406, 418, 448, 449, 551, 553, 563, 589, 592; iv. 350, 353, 355, 361.
Craig Ilachie, ii. 297, 298.
Craigleithe, ii. 238.
Craigliach, i. 85, 86.
Craigmill, i. 599, 631; ii. 5, 438, 440; iii. 329; iv. 20, 23, 28, 349, 553, 557.
Craigmudartie, ii. 421; iv. 5, 550.
Craigour, ii. 39, 40; iii. 329, 330.
Craigs of Ballater, i. 640.
Craigsley, iii. 440, 441.
Craigston, i. 21, 481, 482.
Craigtoune, i. 479; ii. 39; iii. 302; iv. 435, 507, 511, 513, 515.
..... in Cruden, iii. 121.
..... in Peterculter, iii. 346.
Craiyincrosse Monthe, i. 77.
Cranloch, iv. 595.
Cranmok, iii. 579, 581.
Crannacht, iii. 63, 67.
Cranniebogue, iii. 67.
Crannoch, iv. 595.
Cranstone, iv. 318.
Crathes, i. 25, 38, 41, 78, 638; ii. 51.
Crathie, i. 77; ii. 89, 91.
..... Parish of, i. 24, 36, 70, 73, 85, 135, 137, 170, 217, 219, 223, 225, 229, 641-643; ii. 82-93.
Crathynard, ii. 89, 91.
Craucarn, ii. 428, 430.
Cravie, iv. 543.
Crawley, iii. 157.
Crawok, iv. 455.
Creach, iv. 146, 147.
Creack, iv. 316.
Crechies, iii. 7, 46, 47, 48.
Crechyrosy, ii. 263.
Creichinalaid, iii. 554, 555, 556, 557.
Creichmonde Bellie, ii. 394.
..... Nagorth, ii. 394.

Crcichtmont, iii. 113.
Cremont, i. 346.
Crevechyn, i. 116.
Crevethin, iv. 561, 563, 566.
Crewethin, iv. 38, 63.
Crichie, i. 21, 112, 118, 187, 398, 399, 494, 495; ii. 438, 440; iii. 90, 91, 321, 412, 415, 519, 520, 554, 555, 556, 557; iv. 3, 19, 21, 22, 27, 29, 41, 42, 43, 507, 510, 520, 525, 526, 574, 575, 577, 579.
Crimond, i. 425, 426, 428; ii. 314, 394; iii. 30, 158, 160, 224, 385, 386, 420, 421, 536; iv. 77, 78, 79, 80, 167, 170, 308, 309, 594, 595.
..... Parish of, i. 93, 97, 158, 215, 217, 220, 222, 224, 228, 411, 423-428; ii. 394-396; iii. 158, 159; iv. 77-81, 632-640, 650, 652, 653.
..... Aglis, iv. 79.
..... Carth, i. 119.
..... Gorth, iii. 158; iv. 79, 81, 634, 636.
..... Hayhills, iii. 158.
..... Moggat, i. 425, 429, 430; iii. 20, 158; iv. 79, 636, 637.
..... Over Mill of, iv. 684.
..... Park, iii. 158; iv. 102, 103, 635, 649.
Crochauli, St. Bride's Chapel at, i. 642; ii. 84.
Croes, iii. 179.
Croft, iv. 316, 538.
Croftis, iv. 318.
Croft Morrell, iv. 312.
Crokla, iv. 23.
Cromar, i. 25, 84, 85, 86, 276; ii. 9, 25; iv. 195, 196, 216, 218, 219, 236, 277, 278, 445, 447, 483, 485, 716, 723, 739, 743.
Crombie, ii. 190, 221, 223, 224; iii. 415.
Crombiny, iii. 436, 437.
Cromblett, iii. 414, 415.
Cromdale, iii. 423.
..... Bhrid, ii. 308.
Crommellat, Chapel at, ii. 188.
Crommy, iii. 464.
Crosflat, iii. 429.
Cross Dardar, ii. 76.
Cross of Jackstoun, i. 90.
Crosslacks, ii. 367.
Croswoodhill, iii. 159.
Crostaine, iii. 158
Crove, iii. 540, 542.
Cruden, i. 407, 479; ii. 391, 442; iii. 119, 121, 130, 140; iv. 435.
..... Parish of, i. 93, 97, 145, 157, 215, 217, 219, 222, 224, 229, 230, 374-387; ii. 345; iii. 119-129, 158.
Crukistoune, iii. 324.
Crukifurde, iii. 95, 100, 101.
Crukithillock, ii. 312.
Crumboch, iv. 608.
Cruterystoun, i. 548, 549; iv. 155.
Cruwis, iii. 217, 218, 219.
Crux Medici, i. 407, 408.
Cryalie, ii. 438, 440; iv. 20, 23, 28, 557.
Cukishill, iv. 220, 224, 225, 227, 278, 475.
Culane Grieueschip de, ii. 97.
Culas, iv. 66.
Culbalauch, iv. 219, 227.
Culbirny, i. 159.
Culblaine, see Kilblene.

Culblathyus, ii. 218.
Culbo, iii. 542, 556.
Culbreny, ii. 390.
Culburty, ii. 377, 378, 381; iv. 113, 125, 388.
Culcaok, iv. 388.
Culcauks, iii. 71.
Culclerochy, iv. 183.
Culcoach, ii. 377, 381.
Culfin, ii. 116, 117, 132, 133.
Culfork, iv. 736, 773, 774.
Culhay, iv. 416.
Culhork, iii. 516.
Culispik, iv. 220, 224, 225, 278.
Culkilh, i. 467.
Cullace, iii. 513, 514.
Cullen, i. 17, 70, 123, 127, 199; ii. 129, 135, 136, 137, 138, 139, 140, 141, 327.
..... of Buchan, i. 18, 489; ii. 367, 368, 369, 370.
..... Collegiate Church of St. Mary at, i. 69, 205, 210, 646; ii. 136, 137.
..... Hospital at, ii. 136, 137.
..... Parish of, i. 122, 218, 222, 225, 227, 229, 647-648; ii. 135-142.
Cullenachys, i. 505.
Cullerlie, iii. 158.
Cullinorttis, ii. 110.
Culliny, i. 321; iii. 54.
Culmelegy, i. 479; iii. 33, 257, 430, 446, 512, 553.
Culmelly, i. 594.
Culnacloyth, ii. 158.
Culpedauchis, i. 471.
Culphich, i. 612.
Culphin, iii. 542.
Culpressache, ii. 73.
Culquhannie, i. 616.
Culquhary, i. 616; iv. 218, 219, 227, 233, 255, 277, 738.
Culquhathlstan, iii. 35, 244.
Culquheich, iv. 220, 224, 225, 227, 278.
Culquhony, iv. 218, 219, 227, 233, 255, 277, 738.
Culquhork, i. 479; iv. 423, 435, 438, 439, 448, 772.
Culquhorsy, iii. 582, 583; iv. 179.
Culquhoune, iii. 115, 180, 224, 241.
Culqwore, iv. 718.
Culsalmond, i. 120; iii. 401, 403, 406, 409, 410; iv. 361.
..... Parish of, i. 89, 91, 218, 221, 223, 225, 227, 228, 246, 248, 556, 557; iii. 409, 410; iv. 502, 504, 507, 511, 512.
Culsh, i. 406, 407; ii. 433; iii. 571; iv. 23, 59, 60, 317, 579, 580.
Culter, i. 78, 278, 291, 295, 299, 300; iii. 67, 78, 183, 302, 322, 337-345, 519, 529, 536.
..... Domus fratrum milicie Templi Jerosolymitani de, i. 295, 296, 297.
..... Manerium de, iii. 343, 344.
..... of Arnage, iii. 23.
Culterculleu, iii. 115, 116; iv. 26, 418, 422, 770.
..... in Garioch, iii. 387, 471, 586,
Cults, i. 118, 265, 266, 273, 274; ii. 90, 91; iii. 259, 260, 261, 351, 501, 502; iv. 278, 420, 513, 515.
..... in Kinnethmont, i. 623.
Cultyr, see Peterculter, Parish of.
Culvy, ii. 221.

Culwallache, iv. 277.
Culwhuich, i. 86.
Cumery, ii. 155.
Cummyrnalde, iii. 203.
Cumoriis, ii. 45.
Cunnok, iii. 590.
Cupermacultyne, i. 523, 524.
Currikeane, iv. 278.
Currin, i. 90, 609, 613, 621.
Curtans, iii. 305.
Curtestone, Bretone de, iii. 419.
Curtestoun, i. 116; iii. 336, 378, 379, 393, 394, 395, 440.
Curvi, i. 492.
Cushnie, i. 116, 593, 594, 595; iii. 391, 393, 501, 553; iv. 423, 425.
..... Parish of, i. 85, 217, 219, 223, 225, 230, 335, 593-595; iii. 553; iv. 318-338, 752-755.
..... in Auchterless, iii. 571, 572.
Cushnochley, iii. 25, 26.
Cuthill, ii. 438, 441; iv. 20, 21, 23, 27, 37, 557.

Daacht, iv. 525, 526.
Dabaci, iv. 549.
Daes, iv. 514.
Dalblakboig, iii. 406.
Dalcheipe, i. 77.
Dalclarachy, iii. 586.
Daldouy, ii. 90, 91.
Dalforky, iii. 63, 67.
Dalgarno—Fintray, iii. 14, 94, 103, 126, 170, 260, 336, 340, 419, 450, 551.
Dalhaikie, ii. 6.
Dalhairbog, iii. 406.
Dalmaock, see Drumoak.
Dalmore, i. 78, 643; ii. 84, 87, 91.
Dalmore, Eglish-kian-na Dallach, Chapel at, i. 641; ii. 84
Dalmuckeachie, i. 77.
Dalpadie, ii. 90, 91.
Dalpersie Castle, i. 628.
Damegrein, iii. 225.
Dargattie, ii. 370, 371.
Dargforke, i. 352.
Darnfuird, iii. 129.
Daskie, Chapel at, ii. 293.
Daskinnuchel, ii. 301, 303.
Dauachemanache, iv. 390, 657.
Dauchs, iii. 400.
Davachindoir, see Auchindoir.
Daviot, i. 120, 143, 144; iv. 658.
..... Parish of, i. 89, 91, 158, 218, 220, 223, 225, 228, 533, 580-582; iii. 438, 454-468.
..... Shire of, iii. 454, 460, 465, 468.
Daw, iv. 522.
Dawach Menach, iv. 105, 665.
.... Boig of, iv. 105.
Dawane, iv. 746.
Dawaucht, iv. 105, 659, 660, 661, 662, 663.
..... Boig de, iv. 665.
Dee, Bridge of, i. 29, 77, 78, 359; ii. 398; iii. 197, 285.
..... St. Mary's Chapel at, i. 243.
..... at Durris, ii. 398.
..... at Glenmuick, ii. 398.
..... at Kincardine O'Neil, ii. 398.
Dee Castle, i. 640.
... Linn of, i. 78.
Deer, i. 187; ii. 373, 405.
..... Abbey of, i. 19, 69, 96, 185, 186, 187, 188, 189, 190, 191, 192, 217, 218. 371, 397, 398, 400, 415, 480;

ii. 355, 360, 409-442; iii. 117, 118; iv. 3, 5, 14, 16, 18, 19, 27, 30, 31, 32, 38, 42, 46, 551, 554, 557, 558, 623.
Deer (Old Deer), Parish of, i. 19, 94, 97, 157, 185, 187, 217, 220, 222, 224, 227, 397-404, 405, 406-409, 410, 418, 423, 431, 434, 438; ii. 441; iv. 3-48, 545-572.
Delgady, iv. 88.
Delgany, ii. 384.
Delgatie, i. 21, 96, 97, 461, 465, 466, 471; ii. 352, 355, 356, 358, 359; iii. 30, 35, 36, 126, 128, 151, 159, 160, 507.
Delerc, iv. 547.
Deliburry, i. 296, 297.
Dell, ii. 308.
Dellavorar, ii. 307.
Delnaboc, ii. 307.
Delpersie, i. 79.
Delquhiny, ii. 34.
Delroisache, iv. 470.
Dene, iv. 224, 225, 278, 280, 312, 740.
Denebray, iv. 480.
Denend, iv. 102, 103, 579, 649, 650, 684.
Denmill, iii. 345; iv. 146, 147.
Dennis, ii. 438, 440; iii. 157; iv. 19, 22, 24, 27, 38, 42, 557, 589, 595.
Denns, see Little Crichie.
Denstoune, i. 120, 231; iii. 175.
Densyburn, iii. 468.
Densyde, iv. 70, 590, 591, 592.
Derachthowis, iii. 429.
Derevan, i. 407, 408.
Derley, i. 504; ii. 332.
Dernway, iii. 220.
Derocroft, iv. 507, 512.
Derrahouse, iv. 538, 543.
Desk, ii. 4.
Deskford, i. 17, 98, 99; ii. 104, 105, 106, 364; iv. 760.
..... Parish of, i. 122, 222, 225, 229, 644; ii. 104-106.
Deskrie, i. 26, 616; ii. 13.
Dessuenenin, i. 339.
Dilspro, see Grandam.
Dirrirai, i. 643.
Disblair, i. 245; iii. 410; iv. 507, 512.
Discory, iv. 220, 224, 225, 227, 278.
Divies, i. 476.
Divieshill, iii. 92.
Dobieshill, iv. 110.
Doeli, i. 172.
Dolbethok, i. 170, 176, 177, 178; iv. 693.
Dolbrech, ii. 216.
Don, Bridge of, i. 28, 45, 79, 84, 155, 209; iii. 176, 298, 304.
Donebankis, iii. 584.
Donenald, ii. 301, 303.
Donypace, iii. 36.
Dorlaw, iv. 699.
Dorsaill, iv. 140, 141.
Dorskhill, iii. 92.
Doruoche, iv. 522, 525, 526.
Dosky, iv. 220, 224, 225, 227, 278, 316.
Doun, The, of Invernochtie, i. 617.
Doune, i. 490, 491; iii. 539; iv. 166, 167.
..... Forest of, ii. 146.
..... Thanagium de, i. 490.
Down, see Macduff.
Downe in Boyne, ii. 315, 372; iii. 166, 540.

Downstown, iv. 24.
Downyhills, iv. 24.
Dowrie, iv. 39, 564.
Drachlaw, iii. 511.
Dradleane, iii. 540.
Dragy, iv. 578.
Dridlane, iv. 333.
Drimmin, i. 11; ii. 292, 295, 296, 300.
Dronlaw, iii. 7, 27, 122, 124, 125, 128; iv. 696.
Drum, i. 25, 41, 77, 78, 84, 275, 276, 277; iii. 15, 31, 32, 42, 52, 64, 70, 85, 89, 94, 105, 116, 126, 170, 260, 276, 289, 297-312, 315, 335, 338, 339, 342, 343, 346, 347, 348, 365, 366, 375, 383, 404, 418, 420, 445, 449, 519, 536, 541, 560, 561, 573, 574, 575, 589, 590, 592; iv. 74, 316, 641, 776.
..... Chapel at, i. 275.
..... Forest of, ii. 66, 67; iii. 289, 292, 294, 297, 298, 303.
..... Loch of, ii. 51.
..... Park of, iii. 292, 293, 294, 295, 296, 300, 304, 308.
Drumallachy, Chapel at, i. 611.
Drumblade, i. 112, 118, 479; iii. 196, 513, 514, 515, 516, 517, 520; iv. 66, 69, 434, 437, 438, 565.
..... Parish of, i. 87, 97, 216, 223, 224, 230, 475-480, 571; iii. 512-520; iv. 38, 63, 561, 563, 565.
Drumbrek, i. 22.
Drumcoll, iii. 180, 241.
Drumcoutane, iii. 472, 473, 474.
Drumdag, iv. 368.
Drumdelgie, ii. 155.
Drumdelgie, Parish of, ii. 148, 149, 150, 151, 152, 156, 157, 162, 163, 173, 180, 185, 186-188.
Drumdolo, iii. 512.
Drumdothrik, i. 300.
Drumdurnach, i. 538, 541, 542; iii. 369, 382, 429, 440 441, 518.
Drumenachy, i. 147.
Drumgask, i. 634.
Drumgovan, iv. 542.
Drumgowand, i. 116; iii. 395.
Drumhane, iii. 230.
Drumlahoy, ii. 49.
Drumlaussy, iv. 341, 401, 419.
Drumlethin, i. 533, 537.
Drummallicheis, iv. 449.
Drummelloche, iv. 315, 772.
Drummely, iii. 587.
Drumminnor, i. 27, 90, 115, 608; iii. 113; iv. 395, 400, 409, 414, 422, 423, 424, 425, 490, 770.
..... Castrum de, iv. 144.
Drummis, iii. 86, 95, 129, 388, 471, 472, 473; iv. 23, 48.
Drumullys, iv. 434.
Drumnahacht, iii. 327.
Drumnaheiche, iv. 627.
Drumnahow, iv. 278.
Drumnahufe, iv. 220, 224, 225, 227.
Drumnakethe, iii. 68.
Drumnaquhonner, iv. 144.
Drumnard, iv. 320.
Drumnavach, iv. 750.
Drumny, iii. 324.
Drumoak, i. 278; iii. 289.
..... Parish of, i. 41, 85, 145, 158, 218, 221, 223, 224, 227, 229, 274-279; iii. 289-312.

Drumquhat, iv. 334.
Drumquhendill, ii. 375, 377; iii. 17, 18, 50; iv. 88, 580, 581.
Drumquhirny, i. 299, 300.
Drumrossy, iii. 401, 406; iv. 720, 721, 722.
Drumtochty, iii. 64.
Drumyn, iii. 535.
Drunbeth, ii. 136.
Drunnakeith, ii. 99.
Drusclune, iv. 399.
Dryden, iv. 318.
Drymmeis, iv. 456.
Dubildorb, iii. 127.
Dubistoun, iv. 423.
Dubrach, i. 643.
Dudop, iii. 574; iv. 432.
Dudwick, i. 307, 308; iii. 49.
Duffhern, Capella S. Menimii super ripam de, ii. 216.
Dullab, iii. 504, 505.
Dulleuarde, iii. 441.
Dullochue, ii. 125, 127.
Dulloib, iv. 481.
Dulpoty, iii. 318.
Dumbmill, iv. 48.
Dummerneche, i. 523, 524.
Dummuys, i. 476, 479.
Dumpstoune, ii. 445.
Dunan, Chapel at, ii. 293.
Dunbeith, iii. 49.
Dunbennan, ii. 155.
..... Parish of, ii. 147, 148, 149, 152, 156, 157, 162, 164-172, 179.
Dunblat, i. 471.
Dunbrek, iii. 14, 26, 65, 80, 90, 221, 257, 384, 448, 450, 516, 519, 553, 563, 589, 591, 592.
..... Chapel at, i. 357; iii. 20.
Dunbrek, Ward of, iii. 18.
Dunbulg, ii. 155.
Duncainstoune, iv. 218, 219, 255, 277, 278, 521, 522, 525, 526, 739.
Dundarg, i. 444, 445, 447; iv. 119, 120, 121, 369, 676.
Dundore Castle, St. John's Chapel at, i. 553.
Dundurcus, Chapel of Our Lady of Grace at, ii. 108.
..... Parish of, i. 222; ii. 145, 276, 284, 287.
Dune, i. 199.
Dunes, ii. 445.
Duneycht, ii. 46, 47.
Duniehillis, iv. 589, 595.
Duninbride, ii. 301, 303.
Dunlopy, v. 321.
Dunlugies, i. 482, 510; ii. 317; iii. 288, 542, 580, 581, 582.
Dunmeth, Parish of, i. 70, 129, 130, 141, 148, 217, 219, 223; ii. 152, 180, 181, 182, 185; iv. 460.
Dunnideer, i. 22, 70, 90, 552, 553, 554, 555; iii. 403; iv. 237, 521, 522, 525, 526.
Dunnottar, i. 192; ii. 391; iii. 173, 283, 319, 461, 462, 464, 541; iv. 626, 627, 628.
..... Capella de, iii. 319, 329.
Dunpersy, iii. 423.
Duppil, Parish of, ii. 150, 152, 188.
Durlatheris, i. 119, 466, 467; iii. 33, 78, 511, 561, 562, 564, 565, 567.
Durn, i. 17, 122, 644; ii. 95, 103, 368; iii. 252, 279, 288; iv. 626.
..... Hill of, ii. 95, 96.
Durnagh, see Logie Durno, Parish of.

Durno, i. 221; iii. 373, 407, 438, 439, 440; iv. 486, 502, 521, 523.
Durris, i. 76, 300, 651; ii. 352; iii. 17, 18, 129, 195, 284, 306, 307, 361, 362, 363, 364; iv. 566, 627.
..... Castletoune de, iii. 368.
..... Mons de, iii. 355.
..... Parish of, i. 145, 223, 226, 353, 651; iii. 360-368.
Duwaly, iii. 135.
Dyce, i. 244, 251, 575, 577; iii. 69, 70, 71, 77; iii. 223, 226, 233, 234, 316; iv. 309, 481, 520, 525, 526.
..... Old Overtown of, iii. 225.
..... Parish of, i. 85, 223, 224, 230, 244, 571, 577; ii. 400; iii. 223, 224, 225, 226, 316; iv. 361.
Dykis, iii. 196, 197.

Earlefield in Premnay, iii. 400.
Earleseat, iii. 158.
Earnen, i. 616; ii. 13.
East Dronlaw, iii. 125.
Easter Allancoch, ii. 87, 91.
..... Auhioch, i. 407; ii. 442.
..... Bealty, ii. 6.
..... Capet, iii. 136.
..... Carnie, iii. 329.
..... Cluin, i. 634; ii. 77.
..... Cranokis, ii. 238.
..... Crichie, iii. 554, 555, 556.
..... Croylettis, ii. 238.
..... Culessy, iv. 133, 134.
..... Drummelochy, iv. 442, 443.
..... Ellon, i. 311; iii. 46, 47, 48.
..... Essintully, iii. 597.
..... Fowlis, i. 594; iii. 497, 498, 499; iv. 158, 752.
..... Kennat, iii. 571.
Easter Kincraigy, i. 607.
..... Kinmundy, iii. 241, 329.
..... Leochel, i. 599; iii. 490.
..... Maler, i. 595.
..... Mecraw, ii. 90, 91.
..... Muires, iii. 71.
..... Pitfoddels, iii. 275, 287.
..... Skene, iii. 318, 319, 320, 321, 322, 329, 330; iv. 626, 627.
..... Tocher, i. 147.
..... Toun, i. 504; ii. 332; iii. 318.
.... St. Paul's Chapel at, i. 493.
..... Tery, i. 486.
..... Tyrie, i. 435; ii. 384; iv. 122, 518, 647.
Eastoun, iii. 242.
Ebdie, iv. 508.
Ebrie, i. 309.
Echmedane, iv. 116.
Echt, i. 636; iii. 193, 221, 257, 315, 385, 516, 533, 553, 582; iv. 366.
..... Parish of, i. 85, 218, 219, 223, 225, 227, 228, 636-637; ii. 46, 47; iii. 486.
Eddirlick, see Hedderlick.
Edelard, i. 222.
Eden, i. 21, 113, 482, 487; iii. 34, 534, 536, 553, 568; iv. 382, 411, 412, 421, 422, 423.
Edinbanchorie, iv. 316, 373, 392, 416, 423, 425, 457, 458.
Edindeach, ii. 149, 159, 251.
Edindourno, iv. 481.
Edindurnache, i. 526.
Edinduvy, iii. 586.
Edingarrach, i. 551; iii. 387, 395, 396.

Edingarrick, Hill of, i. 90, 550.
Edingeith, ii. 239.
Edinglasse, i. 616; iv. 476, 782, 783.
Edinglassy, i. 650; ii. 180, 182, 255.
Edintor, ii. 248, 249.
Edinvillie, ii. 290.
Edyndiauch, Parish of, ii. 155, 157, 158, 244.
Edyndovy, iv. 142.
Egi, i. 287.
Eglismagirgill, iv. 508, 511.
Eglismenythok, i. 175, 178, 179; iii. 497, 498.
Eglisreul, iii. 417.
Elchinuwir, iii. 502.
Elchy, Parish of, ii. 147, 148, 151, 179, 186, 187, 194, 304.
Elfhillok, iv. 329.
Elisonweill, iii. 482.
Ellon, i. 21, 96, 120, 145, 159, 301, 308, 309, 310, 311, 312, 313, 408; iii. 89, 97, 114, 147, 158; iv. 34.
..... Bridge of, iii. 6.
..... Moothill of, iii. 5, 6, 34.
..... Parish of, i. 21, 87, 94, 97, 158, 188, 217, 219, 222, 224, 227, 229, 301-320, 357, 455; ii. 235, 421; iii. 3—50, 147.
..... Scologlandis de, i. 310; iii. 4, 27, 28, 30, 48.
Elphinstoun, iii. 420.
Elrick, i. 187, 235, 236; ii. 438, 441; iii. 204; iv. 19, 22, 28, 40, 42, 465, 554, 557.
..... Hill, i. 240.
Elryk in Aberchirder, ii. 221.
Elsick, i. 306; iii. 7, 27, 96, 97, 158, 178, 179, 180.
Elsicke Monthe, i. 77.
Emreislands, iii. 124.
Enach, i. 147.
Enderchat, ii. 75.
Endovie, iv. 140, 141, 145, 146, 423, 686.
Enneraloquhy, see Inverallochie.
Ennerboundye, see Boyndie, Parish of.
Enroraquhy, iii. 127.
Enroury, see Inverury.
Enuirquhat, iii. 429.
Envercheroche, iv. 460.
Enyngteir, iv. 756.
Enzie, i. 13, 17, 72, 122; ii. 146, 274.
Ergeithe, iv. 220, 224, 225, 227.
Erlabrune, iii. 501.
Erlesfield, iii. 193, 376, 387; iv. 513, 515, 530, 532, 533.
Ernoch, iii. 4.
Erroll, iii. 91, 124, 125, 133, 134, 135, 140, 364; iv. 632.
..... Mote of, iii. 140.
Erthe, iii. 372.
Esawstoun, iii. 420, 421.
Escaiche, i. 121.
Escentully, i. 296, 297, 300; ii. 355, 357, 358, 594, 595; iii. 356.
Essenheid, iii. 477.
Essie, iii. 370, 514.
..... Parish of, ii. 147, 148, 152, 155, 176-180.
Essilmont, i. 21, 301, 304, 308, 316, 317, 388; ii. 353; iii. 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12, 13, 14, 15, 16, 17, 18, 19, 20, 21, 22, 23, 30, 35, 66, 89, 94-103, 126, 127, 158, 160, 170, 383, 542; iv. 674.
..... Chappelton of, Chapel at, i. 301, 308.
Essuly, ii. 73.

Estertochres, ii. 59.
Estirbalmatuthill, i. 392.
Estirrothnem, ii. 25.
Etdanin, iv. 547.
Etherlik, iv. 507, 512.
Ethres, ii. 238.
Ethsy, see Ythsie.

FACHFEILDIS, iv. 24.
Fadownhill, iii. 559.
Faichfauld, iii. 127.
Fair, Hill of, ii. 5.
Fairnybray, iv. 585, 588.
Faithlie, see Fraserburgh.
..... i. 486; ii. 389, 392, 434; iii. 90, 91, 512; iv. 39, 63, 83, 84, 102, 103, 104, 123, 124, 518, 645, 646, 649, 650, 651, 652.
Fallawe, iii. 477.
Faskin, St. Mary's Chapel at, i. 648.
Fattiehead, iv. 651.
Fauchfeild, ii. 445.
Fawallis, iv. 308.
Fawfeildis, iv. 407.
Fechfield, i. 412, 413.
Fechill, i. 187, 188, 308, 362; ii. 419, 420, 421, 424, 428, 429, 438, 441; iii. 117, 118, 535; iv. 20, 21, 29, 557, 623, 624.
Fechlie, i. 612; iv. 440, 442, 443, 444, 750.
Fechry, iii. 531, 532, 533, 534.
Fedderet, i. 19, 276, 405, 407, 408, 411; ii. 391, 417, 418, 423, 442, 443; iii. 5, 14, 15, 33, 64, 76, 89, 90, 94, 103, 105, 119, 126, 130, 151, 170, 193, 221, 303, 305, 335, 375; iv. 22, 23, 41, 42, 50, 51, 54, 55, 60, 575, 577, 578, 579, 580.
Fedderet, Castle of, iv. 52, 53.
Feewaitt, i. 79.
Fenelost, iv. 219, 227, 277.
Fenersy, iii. 419, 477.
Fentone, iii. 121, 132.
Ferdur, ii. 83.
Ferley, i. 311; iii. 5, 18, 158.
Ferrar, i. 77.
Ferryhill, iii. 194, 195, 196.
Ferthekene, ii. 232.
Fescheartoun, iv. 29.
Feth de Bodufygle, i 258.
Fethercarne, iii. 473.
Fethnabraydach, iii. 337.
Fethus, iv. 320.
Fethys, iv. 319.
Fetterangus, Chapel of, ii. 121, 122, 397.
..... Parish of, i. 70, 93, 97, 217, 219, 222, 227, 392; iii. 131.
Fetteresso, Parish of, iii. 158, 366, 396.
Fetterletter, iii. 166, 259, 559.
Fetterneir, i. 27, 69, 79, 90, 145, 147, 527, 531, 537; iii. 369, 378, 379, 382, 383, 482.
..... Capella Divi Niniani de, iii. 389.
..... Chapel at, i. 527.
..... Fortalicium de, iii. 382.
..... Parish of, i. 70, 145, 217, 219, 223, 526, 527; ii. 139; iii. 369.
Fetyhede, iv. 95.
Ffothneve, i. 200.
Fiddes, i. 21, 360, 368; iii. 112, 113, 115, 116; iv. 26, 413, 414, 418, 422, 423, 624, 770.
..... Beg, iii. 113, 116; iv. 26, 418, 422, 770.

Fiddes, Chapel at, i. 365.
..... More, iii. 113, 116; iv, 26, 418, 422, 770.
Fidilmonth, iv. 452.
Filorth, see Philorth, Fraserburgh.
Finchies, iii. 141.
Findlatrie, iv. 146, 147.
Findon, i. 264, 272; iii. 7, 32, 258, 336, 343, 354, 359, 446, 508, 565.
..... St. Ternan's Chapel at, i. 264.
..... St. Ternan's Well at, i. 266.
Fingasg, iii. 171.
Fingask, i. 19, 436; ii. 402; iii. 467, 468; iv. 658, 667, 668.
..... Chapel at, i. 433.
..... St. James's Chapel at, i. 581.
Fingess, iii. 429, 430.
Finlater, i. 17, 159, 647; ii. 95, 97, 98, 99, 267, 390; iii. 69, 542, 584; iv. 175, 341, 342, 343, 396, 441.
Finlos, iv. 255.
Finnerseis, i. 117, 118.
Finochie, i. 79.
Fintray, i. 28, 120, 249, 487, 601; ii. 350; iii. 14, 94, 108, 126, 170, 226, 227, 228, 229, 260, 336, 340, 419, 424, 425, 450, 534, 535; iv. 88, 361, 382, 411, 412, 417, 421, 422, 423, 507, 512, 770.
..... Parish of, i. 87, 218, 220, 221, 223, 224, 229, 245-249; ii. 386; iii. 67, 199, 227, 228, 229, 230; iv. 304.
Fintriegask, i. 286.
Finzean, i. 634; ii. 77.
Finzeauche, iii. 503.
Firrhill, iii. 67.
Fischerie, i. 118, 482.
Fisherfoord, iii. 572.
Fithelmore, ii. 301, 303.
Flandris, i. 538, 539; iv. 507, 512.
Fleboats, iii. 67.
Flinder, New, iv. 514.
..... Old, iv. 514.
Flisk, iv. 320.
Fluikett Burne, ii. 371.
..... Loche, ii. 371.
Fluris, ii. 329; iii. 567, 572.
Fodirlettir, ii 315, 372, 380.
Foedarg, i. 172, 178.
Foglayhill, i. 409.
Fohesterdy, i. 483, 484.
Folay, iii. 477, 478, 549, 550, 557.
Foleth, Blackwater, iii. 429, 475, 476, 543.
Foleyt, i. 172, 178.
Folla Rule, i. 158, 493; iii. 429, 542, 543.
Folstoune, iii. 83.
Forbes, iii. 116, 474, 534, 535; iv. 416, 423, 426.
..... Awfurde, iv. 143, 144, 146.
..... Baronia de, iv. 142, 143, 392, 394, 485, 494, 536, 656, 686.
..... Parish of, i. 27, 70, 85, 89, 158, 215, 217, 219, 223, 225, 226, 229, 230, 608-611.
..... and Keirn, Parishes of, iv. 371-426, 760-771.
Fordale, iii. 579, 582.
Fordewyne, i. 523, 524, 525.
Fordyce, i. 122; ii. 94.
..... Parish of, i. 122, 148, 218, 220, 222, 225, 227, 228, 644,645; ii. 94-103, 146.
Foret, iii. 398.
Forevinschip, iv 320.

Foreys, Castle of, iv. 606.
Forglen, i. 22, 200, 276, 290, 509, 510, 511, 512, 513, 514, 515, 516, 517; ii. 113; iii. 93, 295, 306, 307, 344, 573, 574, 575.
..... Parish of, i. 93, 97, 123, 218, 220, 222, 224, 508-518; ii. 59, 121, 122, 123, 388; iii. 159, 573, 574, 575.
Forgrunt, i. 624.
Forgue, i. 80; ii. 322.
..... Murestoun de, iii. 114.
..... Parish of, i. 87, 97, 216, 218, 221, 223, 224, 508, 519-525; ii. 209, 320-326, 388; iii. 587-593.
Forgyne, ii. 232.
Forletter, ii. 307, 308.
Forman-hill, i. 477; ii. 320.
Formartine, Baronia de, iii. 66.
..... Dominium de, iv. 385.
..... Thanagium de, i. 498, 505; ii. 326.
Fornathy, i. 170, 176; iv. 693.
Fornatt, iv. 627.
Fornet, i. 281; iii. 327, 329.
Fornok, ii. 55.
Forresterhill, iii. 215, 218.
Forscan, Parish of, i. 70, 218, 220, 222; ii. 139, 142-146, 152.
Fortery, iii. 437.
Forthirbris, iv. 383.
Fortra, i. 464; iii. 510, 511, 532, 561, 562, 564, 565, 569.
Fortrie, i. 301; ii. 238, 445; iii. 14, 16, 17, 158, 301; iv. 24, 685, 745.
..... de Auchnamonzee, iii. 536.
..... de Inverury, i. 445, 456, 457; iv. 132, 133, 650.
Fortrie, Nedder or Graye, iii. 18, 158.
Forvie, i. 372, 390; iii. 129, 130, 131, 140.
..... Parish of, i. 70, 93, 97, 217, 219, 222, 227, 392; iii. 131.
Fouchile, iii. 63, 72, 75.
..... Fortre, iii. 63.
Foudland, i. 80, 90, 126, 508, 554, 557; ii. 320.
Foulewod, iv. 85.
Foullishunter, i. 116.
Foveran, i. 21, 113, 158, 365, 366, 367, 370; iii. 20, 29, 33, 35, 52, 53, 64, 65, 78, 85, 90, 93, 94, 95, 96, 100, 103, 151, 156, 193, 257, 263, 276, 303, 315, 340, 375, 384, 408, 421, 448, 449, 519, 533; iv. 558.
..... Hospital at, i. 365.
..... Mansus de, iii. 118.
..... Parish of, i. 88, 97, 187, 217, 219, 223, 224, 227, 229, 357, 364-374, 470; ii. 416, 417, 423, 435, 438, 441; iii. 29, 93-119, 405; iv. 21, 25, 26, 29.
Fowislie, i. 629.
Fowlesy, i. 172.
Fowlfurd, ii. 312.
Fowlie, i. 599; iii. 482; iv. 321.
Fowlis, Easter, iii. 497, 498, 499; iv. 347, 753.
Fowlisly, iv. 540, 543.
Fowlis Mowat, i. 594, 595; iv. 319, 321, 323, 324, 326, 327, 328, 329.
..... Wester, iii. 490, 497; iv. 349, 360.
Fraserburgh, i. 19, 75, 96, 107, 431, 432, 434; iv. 127.
..... College of, iv. 653.

Fraserburgh, Parish of, i. 70, 93, 97, 158, 215, 217, 220, 222, 224, 228, 230, 409, 431-435; ii. 385-391, 392, 393; iv. 83-104, 642-655.
Fraserfield, see Balgowny.
Freefield, i. 577, 578.
Frendraught, i. 22, 519, 520, 524; ii. 173, 325, 326; iii. 322, 418, 471, 587, 588, 589, 590.
..... see Forgue, Parish of.
Frosterhill, iii. 414.
Frosterseitt, iii. 227, 229; iv. 361, 507, 512.
Frostleis, iv. 407.
Fuchull, Capella de, i. 119, 120, 121, 122, 352.
Fuitte, iii. 518.
Fulbakater, i. 484.
Fulhet, i. 467.
Fullertoun, i. 251, 275; iii. 67.
Fulzemont, iii. 32, 304, 407; iv. 316, 455.
Furdalhous, iii. 477.
Furene, iv. 546.
Furetoune, Burrowlands de, iii. 239.
Futhess, iv. 409.
Futhnevyn, ii. 44.
Futhois, iv. 394.
Futtie, i. 255; iii. 44, 114; iv. 507, 512.
..... Parish of, i. 224, 243-244.
Fymart, iii. 33.
Fyndacht, iv. 481.
Fyndachyfeild, ii. 141, 142.
Fyndyhark, iii. 60.
Fynelosk, iv. 233, 475.
Fynevin, iii. 596.
Fynnarsume, iii. 468.
Fynnerce, iii. 305, 419.
Fyntrach, iv. 486.
Fynzeauch, iv. 338.
Fythelych, iv. 443.
Fythkill, iii. 231.
Fyvie, i. 21, 120, 196, 272, 493, 494, 495, 498, 499, 500, 501, 504, 561; ii. 326, 327, 329, 331, 332, 333, 336, 418, 420; iii. 38, 45, 59, 65, 70, 72, 78, 94, 105, 126, 170 178, 255, 256, 259, 305, 340, 408, 411, 535, 536, 550, 553, 554, 567.
..... Burgh of, i. 196, 341, 497, 501, 504; ii. 327, 332; iii. 546, 552.
..... Muires of, iii. 415.
..... Parish of, i. 87, 94, 97, 192, 193, 194, 217, 220, 223, 224, 227, 230, 292, 493-505; ii. 59, 119, 120, 121, 122 123, 326-336; iii. 67, 542-559; iv. 602.
..... Park of, iii. 63, 129, 545, 546, 547.
..... Priory of, i. 69, 192, 193, 194, 195, 198, 493, 497; ii. 327, 330, 424; iii. 179, 265, 266, 545, 547, 548, 549.
..... Sakfurd of, iii. 101, 105.
..... Vicaria de, iii. 544, 549.
Fyvielands of Ellon, iii. 31, 37.

Gachinwives, iv. 48.
Galan, ii. 59.
Galchol, i. 159.
Galchowell, iv. 175.
Galchull, iii. 443.
Gallowhill Fauld, ii. 396.
Gallowhillok, iv. 239.
Galvail, iv. 75.

Gamrie, i. 199.
..... Hill of, i. 101, 102.
..... Parish of, i. 93, 101, 123, 216, 218, 220, 222, 224, 227, 230, 335, 488-492; ii. 59, 119, 120, 121, 122, 123, 234, 363-372, 407; iii. 539-542; iv. 580.
Garbet, iv. 465.
Garchulle, ii. 101, 102.
Gardin, iii. 215, 218, 511; iv. 542.
Gargunnok, iii. 579, 580, 581, 582.
Garioch, The, Collegiate Chapel of St. Mary of, i. 69, 526, 529; ii. 314, 418; iii. 369 370 371, 386, 405, 416, 429.
..... Parish of Chapel of, i. 70, 91, 526-544; iv. 508.
..... Rural Deanery of, i. 69, 216, 218, 220, 628.
Garlet, iv. 665.
Garlogy, i. 281, 283, 284; iii. 322, 323, 325, 326, 329.
Garneffintra, see Dalgarno-Fintray
Garniston, i. 481.
Garrie, iv. 183, 565, 566.
Gartly, i. 15, 22; ii. 174.
..... Parish of, ii. 148, 150, 151, 152, 173-175, 188.
Garwak, iv. 627.
Garwotwod, ii. 238.
Gask, i. 119, 383, 387, 460, 466, 467; iii. 64, 90, 103, 127, 128, 129, 140, 221, 506, 561, 591.
Gavelack, ii. 307.
Gavile, i. 398.
Gawaill, ii. 403, 405.
Gelder, ii. 83.
Gelestan, ii. 73.
Gellan, ii. 71; iv. 751.
Gerinto, i. 299; iii. 337.
Gerry, iii. 517, 518.
Gerschehill, iv. 579.
Gersohill, ii. 433.
Geth, Capella de le, ii. 274.
Gethe, ii. 232.
Gettside, iii. 67.
Gibbon, iv. 317.
Gibberstoune, iii. 84.
Gicht, i. 21, 328, 493, 495, 496; iii. 71, 76, 558, 559.
Gilberthill, i. 526.
Gilcomston, i. 116, 232; iii. 196, 197, 512; iv. 39, 63, 563.
Gilleandristone, i. 627.
Gillettnachis, i. 498.
Girnaig, ii. 83.
Glacarethy, i. 258.
Glack, i. 581, 582; iii. 388, 435, 436, 451, 460, 461, 462, 463, 464, 465, 466, 467.
Glackriach, i. 19, 187, 398, 399; ii. 438, 441; iii. 127, 507; iv. 20, 23, 28, 40, 554, 557.
Glenderstoune, iv. 218, 219, 277, 278, 521, 525, 526, 739.
..... New, iv. 514.
..... Old, iv. 514.
Glascelach, ii. 377, 378, 381; iv. 388.
Glaschaw, iii. 472, 473, 474.
Glasclune, iii. 84.
Glascory, iv. 465.
Glascow, iii. 244; iv. 361, 678, 745.
Glascul, i. 298; iii. 337.
Glasgow, le forest, i. 251; iii. 188.
Glashalche, iii. 584.
Glaslo, iii. 511, 561, 562, 564, 565.
Glasloch, iv. 113.

Glasmouth, iii. 334.
Glass, Parish of, i. 129; ii. 133, 147, 148, 152, 155, 158, 180-185.
Glassach, i. 17, 122, 644; ii. 96.
Glaster, iii. 462.
Glastirmvyr, iii. 351.
Glasvel, iii. 166, 167.
Gledcarn, ii. 428, 429, 430.
Glenavon, ii. 292, 307.
Glenbeg, iv. 578.
Glenboul, i. 618; iv. 467.
Glenbucket, see Inverbucket.
..... i. 79, 121; iv. 255, 277, 748.
..... Parish of, i. 79, 85, 223, 225, 230, 613; iv. 449-451, 775.
Glencallander, i. 78.
Glencarvie, i. 79, 592, 616; iv. 177, 313, 314, 315, 381, 441, 750.
Glencat, iv. 354.
Glencharny, iv. 175.
Glencluny, i. 78, 641.
Glencoiche, i. 78, 643.
Glencolstaine, i. 78.
Glenconrie, i. 79, 592; iv. 177, 313, 314, 315, 381, 441, 750.
Glencoy, iv. 220, 224, 225, 227, 278.
Glencry, iv. 475.
Glencuthill, ii. 380, 381; iv. 116, 118, 119, 120, 677, 678, 679, 745.
Glendenny, iv. 595.
Glendeschorie, i. 79.
Glendevine, iv. 589.
Glendovachy, i. 231; ii. 368, 369, 370, 371, 372, 380, 381.
..... Baronia de, iv. 677, 745.
..... Thanagium de, ii. 106, 363, 364, 368.
Glenduky, iv. 320.
Glenernein, i. 79.
Glenesk, iii. 262.
Gleney, i. 78, 643.
Glenfardur, ii. 83.
Glenfarquhar, i. 77; iii. 59.
Glenfiddich, i. 12; ii. 257.
..... Forest, i. 649.
Glengarden, i. 78.
..... Parish of, i. 70, 73, 78, 85, 223, 225, 639-640; ii. 48, 80, 81; iv. 404, 405, 419.
Glengarock, ii. 238.
Glengarstoun, iv. 255.
Glengirneiche, i. 78.
Glenhead, iii. 482.
Glenhous, iii. 167, 244.
Glenhousis, iv. 116.
Glenkindy, i. 27, 79, 84, 616, 618; iii. 51, 52, 315, 482, 553; iv. 467, 468, 470, 779, 780.
Glenlivat, ii. 292, 295, 300.
..... Battle of, ii. 183, 272.
Glenlos, iv. 219, 227, 255, 278.
Glenluie, i. 178, 643.
Glenmellen, ii. 323.
Glenmuick, i. 24, 77, 78; ii. 80; iv. 340.
..... Parish of, i. 36, 70, 73, 78, 85, 217, 219, 223, 225, 229, 639-640; ii. 80, 81.
Glennochty, i. 79; iv. 218, 219, 227, 255, 277, 738.
Glenquithle, i. 443; iii. 167, 539.
Glenrinnes, ii. 257.
Glenshie, i. 77.
Glentanner, i. 77, 78, 86; iv. 340, 361.
..... Parish of, i. 36, 70, 77, 78, 85, 223, 225, 229, 633; ii. 32-36.
Glentoun, iv. 479, 480, 481

Glessangortyn, i. 562.
Glichnoch, iv. 633.
Glorate, iii. 579.
Goacht, iv. 578.
Goauch, ii. 72.
Goitt, The, ii. 371.
Gonyr, iii. 414.
Gordon, iii. 471.
..... Castle, see Bog of Gicht.
Gordy, iv. 390, 659, 660, 665.
Gort-Lie-Mor, iv. 549.
Goul, i. 143, 144; iii. 209.
Gourdess, ii. 332.
Gourdies, iii. 159, 160.
Govel, iv. 316.
Gowneny, iv. 116.
Gowny, iii. 538.
Gradokis, ii. 232.
Gramos, iii. 547.
Grampians, i. 3, 24, 26, 45, 254, 264, 642.
Grandam, i. 120, 231; ii. 315, 372, 380.
Grandone, iii. 165, 166, 167, 178, 209, 222, 370.
Grange, i. 87; iv. 588.
..... Parish of, ii. 230-239.
..... of Raehill, ii. 438, 441.
Grangemure, iii. 571.
Grantfield, see Ballogie.
Graye Fortree, iii. 18, 158.
Graystane, ii. 359, 371; iii. 159; iv. 141.
Greenburn, i. 238, 239.
Greeness, iii. 159.
Green Myre, ii. 396; iv. 425.
Greindyk, iv. 676.
Greinlaw, iv. 651.
Greit Slak, ii. 312.
Grenewelheid, iv. 465.
Grennyss, i. 197.
Greynis, iv. 422, 771.
Grode, iv. 105.
Grodeis, iv. 105.
Guastoch, Chapel at, i. 642; ii. 84.
Guerry, i. 479; iv. 434.
Guisney, see Cushnie, Parish of.
Gullye, iv. 120, 674.

HACHADGOUAN, ii. 15, 17, 21, 23.
Hachendauererhe, ii. 109.
Hachindaling, ii. 232.
Hachingal, i. 547.
Hacraky, i. 467.
Haddirweik, iv. 507, 512.
Haddo, iii. 20, 102, 151, 551, 554; iv. 26.
..... in Crimond, i. 425, 426; iii. 158.
..... in Forgue, ii. 325.
Hadoch Ratray, ii. 395, 396.
Haghill, ii. 132.
Hairmoss, ii. 370; iii. 159.
Halcevaillis, iii. 541, 567, 569, 570, 572.
Haldawe, ii. 332.
Haldouch, i. 498, 504.
Halforest, i. 27, 70, 84, 249; ii. 74, 101, 446.
..... Chapel at, i. 249.
Halgreene, iii. 87.
Halhed, iv. 336, 337, 754.
Halkden, ii. 367.
Halkhill, iv. 588.
Halkhillock, iii. 176.
Hallhead, i. 593; iii. 35.
Halltacis, iv. 319.
Haltone of Lunfannane, ii. 38, 39.

Haltoun, iii. 34; iv. 507, 512.
..... in Auchterless, iii. 562, 567, 572
..... de Tulleboy, iii. 344, 345.
Halymannis Coif, iii. 250.
Hannyhill, iii. 540.
Hard, The, ii. 371.
Harebogge, iv. 716.
Harlaw, i. 551; ii. 224; iii. 183, 376, 385, 386, 388, 397, 398, 435, 436, 448, 449, 462, 463, 464; iv. 177, 179, 180, 186, 187, 521, 522, 525, 526.
..... Battle of, i. 23, 41, 208, 276, 526, 536, 537, 573; iii. 320, 429.
Harthill, i. 23, 90, 118, 579; iii. 35, 443, 444, 445, 446, 447.
Hathkery, i. 336.
Hatton, i. 465, 508.
..... St. Giles Chapel in, i. 245.
Hauches, ii. 238.
Hauchton, iv. 423.
Haudauch, iii. 446.
Haugh, iv. 314, 315, 316, 325, 441.
Haughmuir, iii. 159, 160.
Haughton, iv. 145, 146.
Haukines, iii. 83.
Haulche, le, i. 323.
Hausbustyr, iv. 76.
Havdauch of Ratray, ii. 403.
Hawdo of Furvie, iii. 140.
Hayninghil, i. 492.
Hazlehead, iii. 182, 216, 218, 219.
Hechame, iv. 319.
Hedderlick, iii. 400, 401, 406.
Hedderwick, iii. 227, 410, 424.
Heddrie Hawin, iii. 127.
Helin, see Ellon.
Helthach, ii. 156.
Hempislead, ii. 396.
Henormarkie, see Innermarkie.
Herdo, iv. 110.
Hermitdykys, iv. 573.
Hernoch, iii. 4.
Herriefoord, iii. 67.
Herthill, iv. 175.
Hieriggis, iii. 104.
Hilbrae, iii. 82.
Hill of Findon, ii. 367.
Hillhead, ii. 445; iii. 160.
Hillokis, iv. 25.
Hillside, iii. 345.
Hilltacis, iv. 319.
Hillton of Aschogill, iii. 159.
Hilton, i. 231; ii. 224; iii. 24, 25, 41, 42, 176, 209, 436, 460, 461, 462, 463, 515.
..... see Turnerhall.
Hindhop Burnemuthe, iv. 148.
Hirne, The, i. 299, 300.
Hithe, iii. 91, 126, 151; iv. 75.
Holhillock, iv. 22.
Holleresky Lech, i. 408.
Hollmill, The, iii. 345.
Horsecrook, Chapel at, i. 285.
Houchtireyht, see Outhirheyclt.
Housedale, i. 637.
Huchtirerne, see Ouchtirarne.
Humleis, iv. 585.
Humleiskairne, iv. 588.
Hundehillok, iv. 465.
Huntly, ii. 132, 170, 171, 172, 180; iii. 68; iv. 70, 464, 465, 466.
..... Parish of, ii. 164-172. See Dunbennan and Kynnor, Parishes of.
Huskethuire, i. 407.

Hylaf, ii. 232.
Hyrdmanstouna, iii. 326.
Hythy, ii. 403, 405.

IDEN, see Eden.
..... Chapel at, i. 481.
Idoch, see Udach.
Inchbarrey, i. 77.
Inchebrek, iv. 116.
Inchecumming, iv. 598.
Inchedrewir, i. 18, 159, 645; ii. 110, 113, 114; iii. 581.
Inchefode, ii. 109.
Inchetomoch, ii. 110.
Inchmarlo, i. 299, 639; ii. 51, 67.
Inchmarnach, ii. 80.
Inchture, iii. 13.
Inchuyre, iii. 133.
Inenteir, i. 606; iv. 350, 351, 362.
Ineyeane, iv. 481.
Ingemabanin, iv. 502.
Inglassie, i. 15.
Inglistoun, iii. 421; iv. 421.
Innerechyn, i. 118.
Innermarkie, i. 77; iii. 33, 35, 36, 397, 398, 399, 448, 558.
Innerqwhomry, iv. 24.
Inneruchtie, iv. 485.
Innerwadie, iv. 38.
Insch, i. 22; ii. 373; iii. 401, 405, 406; iv. 399. 504, 507, 512.
..... Parish of, i. 89, 91, 216, 218, 221, 223, 225, 227, 230, 246, 248, 552-556; iii. 401-409.
..... Stone Pillars in, i. 552.
Instuthill, iii. 10, 125, 133.
Inueraldem, ii. 301, 303.
Inuerberwy, iii. 268.
Inuercabo More, iv. 476.
Inuerculan, Capella de, ii. 139.
..... Foresta de, ii. 138.
Inuerenze, ii. 90, 91.
Inuererny, iii. 89, 91, 560, 561; iv. 41.
Inuernytie, i. 383, 385, 386, 387, 414, 418; iii. 128; iv. 475, 589.
Inuerquhanwik, ii. 88, 91.
Inuerquhardy, iii. 268.
Inuerquhentyne, ii. 125, 127.
Inueryalder, ii. 89, 90, 91.
Inver, iii. 503, 505.
Inveraboyndie, see Boyndie, Parish of.
Inverallochy, i. 19, 429, 430, 452, 455, 456, 457, 458; iii. 299, 341, 458, 475; iv. 88, 131, 132, 133, 134, 135, 650, 683, 685.
Inveramsay, i. 530, 538; iii. 374, 375.
Inverarnidly, iii. 504, 505.
Inveraurie, ii. 307, 308.
Inveravon, Parish of, ii. 151, 292-305.
Inverbucket, i. 26, 79, 84, 121, 613; iv. 278, 450.
Inverburquhare, iv. 220, 224, 225, 227.
Invercabok, ii. 305; iv. 476.
Invercannie, i. 639; ii. 60, 61, 64; iv. 567, 693.
Invercauld, i. 24, 78, 641, 642; ii. 84, 88, 91.
Invercruden, see Cruden, Parish of.
Inverebrey, i. 322.
Inverernan, i. 616; ii. 13; iii. 340, 551.
Inverey, i. 24, 79, 643; ii. 84, 87, 91.
Inverery, Chapel at, i. 641; ii. 84.
Inverinche, iv. 690, 691, 692.
Inverkeithny, iii. 589.
..... Chapel at, i 652.

Inverkeithny, Parish of, i. 222, 650, 652; ii. 147, 148, 150, 151, 179, 318, iii. 570.
Inverketin, iv. 503.
Inverlochie, ii. 307, 308.
Invermeth, iv. 691, 692.
Invernade, iv. 24.
Invernanis, iv. 782, 783.
Invernattie, i. 616.
Invernethy, iv. 219, 227, 738.
Invernety, iv. 24, 233.
Invernochtie, see Strathdon, Parish of.
..... i. 26, 616, 617; ii. 309; iv. 178, 217, 218, 219, 225, 227, 255, 277, 472, 473, 474, 738, 739, 740.
..... Prebendal Church of, iv. 451.
Invernochy, iv. 739, 740.
Invernoth, iv. 86.
Inverquharity, ii. 445.
Inverquhate, ii. 76.
Inverquherauche, iv. 461, 462.
Inverthurin, iv. 503.
Inverugie, i. 19, 97, 413, 419, 420, 421, 423; ii. 397, 402, 405, 442; iii. 151, 205, 299, 330.
..... see St. Fergus, Parish of.
..... Petri, see Peterhead, Parish of.
Inverury, i. 22, 23, 27, 34, 70, 90, 123, 126, 248, 555, 556, 562, 580; iii. 113, 114, 474, 478, 479, 480, 513; iv. 309, 507, 508, 512, 522, 525, 526, 685.
..... Battle of, i. 564.
..... Capella de, iv. 502.
..... Castle of, i. 126, 127.
..... Castlehill of, i. 127.
..... Castleyardis of, i. 127.
Inverury, Parish of, i. 70, 79, 89, 91, 216, 218, 220, 221, 223, 225, 246, 248, 562, 582-583; iii. 388, 468, 480; iv. 361, 504, 533.
..... 'Polinar's Chapel at, i. 70, 582.
Inverveddie, ii. 445.
Invery, iv. 476, 481.
Inyenaren, ii. 428.
Inzian, iii. 504, 505.
Irnesyde, ii. 433; iv. 578, 579.
Isuakistoun, iv. 308.
Ithe, see Hithe.
Ithsie, see Ythsie.

JAKSTOUN, i. 504; ii. 332; iii. 45.
Jerusalem of Thainston, iii. 67.
Johnisleis, iii. 407.
Johnstoun, iii. 33, 52, 53, 64, 65, 78, 89, 94, 103, 126, 170, 193, 224, 225, 257, 260, 276, 335, 336, 340, 375, 384, 385, 394, 395, 408, 418, 421, 422, 448, 449, 462, 533, 552, 554, 561, 589, 591, 592; iv. 627, 736, 737.

KAIKINCH, ii. 347.
Kaithen, i. 475.
Kakukie, i. 467.
Kalymyre, iii. 505.
Kandars, Loch and Island of, iii. 287.
Kanyn, see Canny.
Karne, iv. 636.
Karnekunschie, iv. 636.
Karntown, iv. 633.
Kathdrum, iii. 539.
Kean-na-kyll, see Canakyle.
Kebidy, iv. 340, 341, 396, 419.

Keer, i. 287.
Keig, i. 120, 171, 172, 620; iv. 763, 766, 767, 768.
..... Parish of, i. 85, 170, 178, 217, 219, 223, 225, 226, 227, 228, 619-620; iv. 478-485.
Keir, Hill of, iii. 329.
Keirhill, i. 281.
Keirn, see Forbes and Keirn, Parishes of.
..... Parish of, i. 70, 89, 91, 217, 219, 223, 225, 226, 229, 230, 608-611.
Keirndard, iv. 421, 422, 771.
Keith, i. 13, 167; ii. 149, 250, 252; iii. 230.
..... Parish of, ii. 148, 149, 150, 151, 225, 240-252; iv. 361, 630.
Keithe in Kintore, iii. 239.
Keithfield, i. 333.
Keith-hall, i. 570, 571.
..... Parish of, i. 87, 91, 223, 225, 230, 569-571; iii. 419-423, 463; iv. 361, 504.
Keithmore, i. 649; ii. 99, 255.
Kelblen, i. 337; iii. 60, 61.
Kellie, i. 116, 321, 323, 325, 326, 327, 328, 372, 470; iii. 43, 50, 51, 53, 54, 104, 111, 129, 141, 142, 143, 144, 145, 146, 147, 148, 454; iv. 49, 507, 599, 600, 615, 747, 748.
Kelliesmonth, ii. 239.
Keloch, ii. 88, 91.
Kemnay, i. 27, 79, 112, 118, 584; iii. 263, 387, 481, 482.
..... Parish of, i. 85, 225, 227, 230, 571, 584; iii. 480-483, 503.
Kendal, i. 570, 571.
Kenminity, ii. 75.
Kennat, iii. 571.
Kennedy, iii. 29.
Kennerty, iii. 52, 65, 78, 103, 221, 276, 303, 342, 347, 348, 349, 350, 449, 536.
Kennoquhy, iv. 320.
Kepplehills, iii. 215.
Kerkhil, i. 262.
Kerkou, iii. 416.
Kerlob, iv. 636.
Kermucks, see Ellon.
Kerthenyn, i. 338.
Kery, iv. 392.
Kerymure, iii. 515.
Kessock, iii. 34.
Kethec, i. 523.
Kethinche, iv. 558.
Kethocksmill, iii. 175.
Kilbethok, iv. 255, 475.
Kilbeuchlie, ii. 110.
Kilblain, iii. 414.
Kilblene, Battle of, ii. 8.
..... Forest of, i. 25, 86, 640; ii. 8.
..... Hill of, ii. 8, 13.
Kildochis, iv. 321.
Kildrummie, i. 26, 70, 79, 83, 84, 116, 121, 158, 541, 555, 590, 591, 594, 626; ii. 10, 11, 340, 372; iii. 423, 517, 577, 582; iv. 238, 350, 373, 379, 447, 448, 475, 485, 759, 773, 774.
..... Castle of, iv. 152, 159, 167, 176, 192, 193, 196, 197, 199, 214, 215, 220, 228, 232, 246, 252, 253, 262, 263, 264, 266, 267, 268, 272, 274, 278, 279, 282, 289, 294, 295, 312, 374, 458, 718, 719, 726.
..... Chapel Ronald in, i 589.

Kildrummie, Parish of, i. 85, 148, 217, 219, 223, 225, 229, 230, 589-592; iv. 147-318, 460, 690-751.
..... St. Luke's Chapel in, i. 589.
..... St. Macariu's Chapel in, i. 589.
Killanell, i. 471, 498, 504; ii. 332.
Killatoquhy, ii. 132.
Killbrune, iii. 421, 422.
Killequharn, iii. 158; iv. 120, 121, 674, 676.
Killesmond, iii. 568.
Killmachily, iii. 559.
Killnarayes, iii. 67.
Kilmachlie, ii. 295, 296.
Kilmalamagie, iv. 633.
Kilmenedies, iii. 568.
Kilmondess, i. 471.
Kilmorthan, i. 349.
Kilmuk, iii. 227.
Kilmukis, iv. 507, 512.
Kilmyntutie, ii. 238.
Kilspindie, iii. 116.
Kilstair, iv. 656.
Kilvalauch, iv. 219, 255, 278.
Kilwynnyn, iii. 295, 296, 297.
Kimnyck, iv. 701.
Kinairdy, i. 22; ii. 190.
Kinaldie, iii. 142, 143, 241, 242, 404, 458, 521; iv. 37, 105, 390, 391, 440, 520, 525, 526, 656, 657, 660, 661, 662, 663, 665.
Kinarmy, i. 467.
Kinbattoch, Chapel at, i. 612.
Kinbethok, iv. 277.
..... see Towie, Parish of.
Kinbog, iv. 88.
Kincaldrum, iii. 180, 241, 273, 400.
Kincardine, Castrum de, iv. 382.
..... in Mearns, i. 199, 324.
..... O'Neil, i. 77, 84; iv. 361, 567.
..... Parish of, i. 26, 37, 85, 158, 215, 216, 217, 219, 223, 225, 227, 631; iii. 3-7; iii. 321, 323, 329.
..... Hospital at, i. 631; ii. 398.
Kinclune, iv. 219, 227, 255, 278.
Kincolsi, i. 296, 297.
Kincorth, i. 79, 260; iii. 247, 250; iv. 486.
Kincraigie, i. 119, 530, 596, 607; iv. 146, 147, 341, 342, 343, 344, 346, 356, 357, 358, 359, 360, 396, 756, 757, 758.
Kindalloch, Chapel at, i. 642.
Kindie, i. 616.
Kindrocht, i. 70, 78, 112, 118, 316, 491, 643; ii. 84, 88, 91, 364, 457, 458; ii. 391, 393, 394; iii. 130, 512; iv. 39, 61, 62, 63, 64, 102, 103, 132, 133, 162, 194, 393, 560, 563, 579, 649, 650, 683, 684.
..... see Braemar, Parish of.
Kinell, iv. 90.
Kinerthy, i. 77.
King-Edward, i. 21, 158, 456, 457, 467, 470, 481, 483, 484, 486, 487; ii. 360, 361, 389, 390, 393, 395; iii. 78, 80, 82, 83, 84, 90, 93, 458, 475, 476, 507, 508, 509, 510, 511, 512, 521, 522, 523, 524, 525, 526, 528, 529, 530, 532, 533, 534, 535, 536, 537, 538, 557, 562; iv. 36, 39, 41, 61, 62, 63, 64, 83, 84, 86, 111, 112, 116, 122, 123, 124, 131, 382, 388, 411, 412, 413, 421, 422, 423, 517, 518, 558, 560, 562, 563, 571, 572, 649, 650, 771.

King-Edward, Castle, Chapel at, i. 481.
..... Castrum de, iii. 524, 526.
..... Mons Castri de, iii. 525.
..... Parish of, i. 93, 97, 187, 218, 220, 222, 224, 228, 480-488; ii. 120, 121, 360-362, 415, 416, 417, 423, 432, 434, 438, 441; iii. 521-538; iv. 26.
Kinglasser, iv. 645, 651.
Kingshill, iii. 215, 219.
Kingswells, i. 238, 239; iii. 192, 217, 219.
Kinguidy, i. 564.
Kinharachi, i. 309.
Kinhard, iv. 334, 335.
Kinhermit, iii. 510, 511, 561, 562, 564, 565, 569.
Kinkell, i. 251, 575, 576, 577; ii. 340; iii. 30, 35, 37, 427; iv. 481.
..... Parish of, i. 87, 91, 126, 158, 215, 218, 220, 225, 571-577; iii. 67, 423-428, 468.
Kinknokie, iii. 157.
Kinmenity, ii. 242, 355; iii. 158, 159.
Kinmondy, Mons de, iii. 328.
Kinmouth, iii. 87.
Kinmundy, i. 19, 143, 144, 147, 187, 398, 399, 404, 413; ii. 445; iii. 156, 157, 196, 198, 221, 222, 241, 329, 458, 459, 512, 551; iv. 22, 25, 39, 63, 557, 559, 562, 564, 565, 566, 567, 568.
Kinnaird's-head, i. 19, 433, 434, 440.
Kinnarachie, iii. 24, 35, 37, 302.
Kinnellar, i. 116; iii. 14, 53, 64, 78, 90, 94, 103, 126, 170, 221, 223, 233, 241, 242, 260, 303, 315, 336, 340, 342, 419, 421, 446, 450, 458, 516, 519, 536, 551, 553, 563, 589, 591, 592; iv. 401.
Kinnellar, Parish of, i. 85, 223, 224, 228, 229, 252, 571; iii. 240, 241, 242, 243, 244, 329; iv. 361.
Kinnernie, Parish of, i. 85, 217, 219, 223, 225, 227, 229, 636; ii. 28, 41-45, 59, 121, 122, 123; iii. 71.
Kinnethmont, i. 148, 200, 624, 625, 626.
..... Hill of, i. 90.
..... Parish of, i. 89, 91, 218, 221, 223, 225, 228, 246, 248, 622-627; iii. 395, 406, 417; iv. 501-535.
Kinnettis, iii. 203.
Kinninmond, i. 355, 429, 430; ii. 264; iii. 12, 13, 141, 158; iv. 83.
..... Chapel of, i. 429.
..... Loch of, i. 430.
Kinninnoway, i. 12, 650; ii. 255, 256, 257.
Kinowll, iii. 133.
Kintore, i. 27, 70, 84, 116, 119, 123, 126, 159, 199; ii. 57, 191, 326, 380; iii. 223, 230, 231, 232, 233, 234, 242, 313, 320, 327, 328, 423; iv. 441, 516, 517, 520, 525, 526, 600, 626, 627.
..... Burgh of, iii. 114, 235, 236, 237, 238, 239, 389, 400.
..... Castle of, i. 126; iii. 313; iv. 35.
..... Forest of, i. 86, 250, 404; ii. 159.
..... Parish of, i. 85, 223, 225, 228, 229, 249-251, 571; iii. 230-239, 503.
..... Thanage of, i. 251, 498, 574, 575, 576, 577.

Kintore, Nether Dawate de, iv. 520.
..... Over ..... iv. 520.
Kirkhill, i. 623; iii. 187, 250, 252; iv. 507, 511, 513, 530, 532, 533, 535.
..... of Arnage, iii. 25, 37.
..... in Ellon, i. 308.
Kirkmichael, Parish of, ii. 151, 306-309.
Kirknaw, i. 373.
Kirknie, ii. 174.
Kirktown, i. 479; iii. 304; iv. 19, 23, 86, 88, 418, 422, 423, 426, 432, 434, 487, 770.
..... of Banchory-Devenick, iii. 254.
..... in Brass, i. 147.
..... de Foichil, i. 352.
..... of Seaton, iii. 168.
..... of Skene, i. 281, 283, 284; iii. 322, 323, 325, 326, 328, 329.
..... of Slaines, iii. 160.
..... of Tarves, i. 352.
..... of Tyrie, iv. 646, 647, 650, 651.
Kirktownes, iii. 67.
Kleyhilles, ii. 445.
Klymach, The, i. 615.
Knaperna, i. 360; iii. 37, 157.
Knapperlaw, iii. 153, 154.
Knavan, iii. 53, 419, 446; iv. 22, 49.
Knevin, Chapel at, i. 397.
Knights Milne, i. 476; iii. 520.
Knoc, ii. 73.
Knochthame, iv. 366.
Knock in Strathila, ii. 238.
..... Castle, i. 639.
Knockdurn, ii. 131, 132.
Knocke Argatey, i. 86.
Knockespack, i. 621; iii. 430; iv. 487, 499, 500, 501.
..... Newtoun of, iv. 501.
Knockhall, i. 21, 366, 368; iii. 95, 99, 100, 106, 107, 108, 151; iv. 26.
Knockiebura, i. 467.
Knockiemill, iii. 160.
Knockikuly, i. 467.
Knockinglews, i. 528, 538; iii. 468, 471, 472, 473, 474.
Knockinsh, iii. 160.
Knockne, ii. 312.
Knocksoul, ii. 8; iv. 105, 390, 656, 660, 663, 665.
Knocky, i. 467.
Knokalloquhy, iii. 376, 388.
Knokandach, iv. 355.
Knokandath, i. 606.
Knokinbard, iv. 521, 522, 525, 526.
Knokinblew, Auldtoun de, iii. 376.
..... Nethertoun de, iii. 376; iv. 533.
Knoikailhous, ii. 432.
Knokis, i. 18; ii. 109, 410, 427; iii. 14, 450.
Knokleith, ii. 445; iii. 566, 567, 570, 572.
Knokmorgin, iv. 522, 525, 526.
Knokothy, iii. 30, 31.
Knokreauch, iv. 324, 326, 327, 328, 329, 753.
..... Netoun de, iv. 329.
Knokuithy, i. 315.
Knokynbarde, iii. 183.
Knokyndythis, i. 300.
Knoll Head, iv. 317.
Knox Knokailhows, iv. 21.
Kolcy, i. 171.

Kolnacrants, i. 299; iii. 337.
Koule, see Coul.
Kragtoun, i. 363, 364.
Kregiltoun, iv. 88.
Kultre, see Culter.
Kylbuthock, Runys of, iv. 73, 74.
Kyldeleth, iv. 599.
Kyllachmond, iv. 486.
Kylmurwhane, i. 344.
Kymbriame, iv. 724.
Kynalchmund, iv. 730.
Kynalti, iii. 334.
Kynansith, iii. 84.
Kynarroquhy, i. 486; iv. 518.
Kynbene, iv. 116.
Kynbeone, ii. 73.
Kynbethoche, i. 120.
Kynbulg, iv. 86.
Kynbrune, iii. 552.
Kynclevyn, iii. 263.
Kynclonyes, iii. 363, 365.
Kynglasser, iv. 86, 88.
Kyngude, iii. 61.
Kynknokye, iv. 22, 39, 559, 562, 564.
Kynmuk, see Glenmuick, Parish of.
Kynmuki, iii. 518.
Kynmux, iv. 320.
Kynmynty, iii. 126.
Kynnard, iii. 10, 12, 91, 266, 267.
Kynnermet, i. 464.
Kynnor, ii. 155.
..... Parish of, ii. 147, 148, 149, 150, 151, 152, 164-172, 179, 188.
Kynstare, iv. 141, 142, 145, 146, 352, 423.
Kyref, ii. 301, 303.

Lachts, iii. 345.
Ladder, The, i. 617.
Ladyhand, ii. 239.
Lagart, iii. 247.
Lagyne, ii. 232.
Lair, iv. 418, 420.
Lairnie, ii. 5; iii. 303, 304.
..... Hill of, ii. 5.
Laithers, i. 98, 118, 119, 461, 464, 465, 466, 467; iii. 64, 65, 78, 84, 90, 103, 105, 193, 243, 257, 260, 305, 315, 335, 375, 384, 385, 418, 421, 437, 448, 510, 511, 516, 524, 533, 553, 561, 562, 563, 564, 565, 589, 591, 592.
Lalethin, iv. 320.
Lambhill, iii. 415.
Lambyhill, ii. 428, 429.
Lamermuir of Arnage, iii. 24.
Lamington, i. 245.
Lanbride, Cottis de, iv. 45.
Langburne, iv. 144.
Langcruik, iv. 507, 512.
Lang Furd, ii. 367.
Langhauch, iv. 423.
Langton, iii. 165.
Largie, iii. 410; iv. 507, 511.
Largieinche, iii. 406.
Larie, iv. 422, 423, 770.
Laskgowne, i. 392, 393; iii. 141, 142, 143, 144, 145, 146, 147.
Lastrody, iv. 371.
Laterty, iv. 417, 421, 422, 423.
Lathie, iii. 502.
Lathrisk, iv. 320.
Lattir, iii. 315.
Lauchebray, iii. 566, 572.
Lauchintuly, iii. 117, 327.
Lauchmure, iv. 514.
Laurastoun, iii. 148.

Laverockhillock, iii. 159.
Lavorick Lairs, iii. 67.
Law, i. 623; iv. 513.
Lawchtendaff, i. 172.
Lawsie, ii. 90, 91.
Layluige, iv. 627.
Laynes, iii. 300.
Leargkindie, iv. 470.
Leask, i. 389, 395; iii. 4, 20, 21, 22, 27, 30, 93, 129, 143, 144, 147, 149, 150, 155, 156, 266, 421, 508.
..... Broganc, iii. 148, 149, 153.
..... Chapel at, i. 388; iii. 147.
Leasyde, iii. 159, 160.
Lechis, iv. 143.
Lechory, iv. 468, 470.
Ledach of Skene, i. 281, 283, 284; iii. 322, 323, 325, 326, 327, 328, 329.
Ledgadlie, iv. 144.
Ledingham, iv. 507, 511.
Ledintosach, iii. 428, 429.
Ledintushe, iii. 378, 379.
Ledlyk, i. 85, 86, 633.
Ledmakey, i. 616; iv. 218, 219, 227, 255, 277, 738.
Ledmuir, iii. 159.
Legarff de Barre, ii. 426, 427.
Legat, iii. 421.
Legatisdend, iii. 385, 386, 388.
Leggat, iv. 48.
Leggot, iv. 308.
Leight, The, i. 616.
Leith-hall, i. 200, 623.
Lennaboe, ii. 445.
Lent, iv. 316.
Lenturk, i. 84, 599; iv. 364, 365, 366, 367, 368, 369.
..... Chapel at, i. 598.
Leochel, i. 178, 605; iii. 490; iv. 349, 350, 353, 355, 362.
..... Cemeterium de, iii. 499.
..... Parish of, i. 85, 170, 173, 174, 178, 217, 219, 223, 225, 597-608; iv. 158, 329, 347-370, 567, 693, 694, 756-759.
Lerkindie, i. 615.
Leshangie, iii. 482.
Lesking Ewin, ii. 232.
Leslie, i. 23, 90, 540, 545, 546, 547, 548, 551, 594, 625; iii. 65, 90, 103, 133, 221, 387, 390, 391, 392, 393, 394, 395, 399, 406, 470, 471, 472, 473, 483, 502, 552, 590, 591; iv. 319, 351, 353, 507, 511.
..... Hill of, i. 90, 546.
..... Parish of, i. 89, 91, 218, 221, 223, 225, 227, 228, 545-550; iii. 390, 394, 395; iv. 504, 542.
Lesmurdie, i. 121, 615; iv. 463, 776.
Lessendrum, i. 475, 476, 479; iii. 335, 446, 515, 519, 520, 586; iv. 435.
..... Chapel at, i. 475.
Lestewmis Carne, ii. 132.
Leterche, iii. 81.
Lethalge, i. 407.
Letheni, ii. 301, 303.
Lethenoth, i. 489, 490.
Lethinty, i. 23, 533, 537; iii. 458, 459, 468; iv. 105, 113, 540, 543, 661.
..... St. Margaret's Chapel at, i. 527.
Lethentie in Fyvie, iii. 542, 543, 559.
Lethgauyn, i. 221, 248.
Lethnocht, i. 313.
Lethnot, ii. 132, 234, 237, 364, 365, 366, 367; iii. 513, 515.
Letterfurie, i. 648.

Leuchendy, i. 193; iv. 602.
Levingstoun, iv. 694.
Lewis of Fyvie, i. 495.
Ley, Chapel at, i. 612.
Leylugis, iii. 327.
Leyn Conueggy, i. 338.
Leys, i. 84, 638; iii. 32, 129, 299, 300, 301, 306, 330, 335, 341, 342, 343.
..... Loch of, ii. 52.
..... of Gight, iii. 559.
..... of Lessindrum, iii. 519, 520.
..... of Shives, iii. 71.
Leytown, iii. 337.
Lichnett Round, iii. 414.
Licklie-head, i. 23, 550, 551.
Liechieston, i. 648.
Lismor, i. 15; ii. 176, 177; iii. 35.
Littertie, iv. 771.
Little Alethan, i. 487; iii. 81.
..... Ardach, iii. 558, 559.
..... Ardo, iii. 71, 75.
..... Arnage, i. 356; iii. 12, 13, 14, 19, 25, 158.
..... Artrochie, iii. 92, 158.
..... Auchmacoy, iii. 93.
..... Auchry, iii. 159.
..... Auchrydie, ii. 438, 440.
..... Badochayse, iii. 429, 543.
..... Brekor, iii. 521.
..... Buttiregask, iii. 513.
..... Cantulie, ii. 149, 250.
..... Clynterta, iii. 220.
..... Colp, iii. 512.
..... Crichie, i. 398, 399.
..... Drumquhendill, i. 448; ii. 375.
..... Elrick, i. 187; ii. 438, 441.
..... Ethsy, iii. 63, 67.
Little Follay, i. 116; iii. 476, 477, 478, 557.
..... Forge, ii. 325.
..... Fynnersy, iii. 419, 477.
..... Gicht, iii. 558, 559.
..... Glensache, i. 524.
..... Goil, i. 235.
..... Govel, iii. 209.
..... Gurdas, i. 498, 504; ii. 332.
..... Haddoch, iii. 102, 151.
..... Johnisleis, iii. 407.
..... Kenaldy, iii. 233, 242.
..... Meldrum, iii. 171; iv. 667, 668.
..... Methlick, i. 118; iii. 260, 261.
..... Mindurno, iii. 178.
..... Moiss, ii. 371.
..... Quisne, iii. 566.
..... Rothy, i. 498.
..... Tullich, ii. 257.
..... Wartle, i. 319, 578; ii. 224; iii. 435, 436, 438, 439, 462, 463, 464.
Littoch, ii. 257.
Loch Cannor, ii. 8, 81; iv. 344.
.... Castle of, ii. 81.
..... Danan, i. 86.
..... D'Awin, ii. 8, 81.
Lochgoul, i. 236; iii. 176.
..... Chapel at, i. 236.
..... Episcopal Manor at, i. 69, 162, 236.
Lochhills, iii. 158, 176, 209; iv. 81, 636.
Lochielair, iv. 110.
Lochintullie, iv. 627.
Loch Kendall, i. 86.
Lochlonny, i. 338.

Loch Muick, i. 639, 640; ii. 80.
Lochnagar, i. 639.
Loch Park, ii. 255.
Lochtilloch, i. 541; iii. 376, 422; iv. 308.
Lodhgavel, iv. 502.
Logie, i. 391, 392, 425, 426, 531, 536; ii. 8, 428; iii. 4, 133, 141, 147, 149, 172; iv. 105, 316, 319, 392, 416, 423, 425, 449, 573, 665, 746.
Logieardoch, i. 287, 288; ii. 318, 319.
Logie Buchan, i. 158; iii. 37, 76, 89, 90, 91, 92, 158, 159.
.... Parish of, i. 70, 87, 94, 97, 148, 187, 217, 219, 223, 224, 227, 357, 361-364; ii. 392; iii. 89.
..... Durno, iv. 533.
.... Parish of, i. 70, 89, 217, 218, 220, 221, 223, 225, 227, 228, 246, 526, 527; iii. 369, 373, 382, 387, 388, 390; iv. 361, 504, 507, 512, 533.
..... Fintray, iii. 227, 229; iv. 361, 507, 512.
..... Mar, i. 158; iv. 748.
.... Parish of, i. 70, 85, 86, 129, 130, 148, 216, 217, 219, 223, 225, 230, 632; ii. 8-12; iv. 148.
..... Newton, i. 507.
..... Ruthven, see Logie Mar, Parish of.
Logtoun, iii. 154.
Logyaltowne, iii. 572.
Logyruif, iii. 83, 95; iv. 595
Loirston, iii. 250.
Loncarty, ii. 355, 356; iii. 126.
Longfuird, iv. 500.
Longhauche, iv. 141, 143.
Longhaven, iii. 127.
Longhill, ii. 445.
Longlandis, iv. 316.
Longley, see St. Fergus, Parish of.
Longmure, ii. 445.
Longside, Parish of, i. 70, 94, 97, 224, 411-413; ii. 444-448; iv. 71.
Lonmay, i. 276, 429, 430; iii. 297, 299, 300, 304, 308.
..... Parish of, i. 93, 97, 158, 215, 217, 220, 222, 224, 429-430; iii. 159; iv. 81-83, 135, 641, 684.
Lonnach, The, i. 616.
Lord Arthur's Cairn, i. 608.
Loscragy, i. 471, 475; iii. 64, 65, 78, 90, 94, 126, 170, 193, 257, 266, 303, 335, 342, 375, 384, 421, 448, 458, 516, 519, 530, 533, 536, 553, 561.
Losmordy, Estertoun de, iv. 461.
Loucherkark, ii. 55, 56.
Lousiefauld, ii. 396.
Lowesk, iii. 378, 379, 382, 440.
Lowet, iv. 90.
Luchory, iv. 470, 780.
Ludcairn, iv. 188, 615.
Ludishille, iv. 465.
Luddlick, ii. 14, 26.
Ludwharn, i. 19, 412, 413; ii. 434, 445; iv. 24.
Lumfannan, i. 117; ii. 30, 36, 37, 39, 326; iv. 361.
..... Parish of, i. 85, 217, 219, 223, 225, 227, 229, 631, 635; ii. 36-41.
Lumger, iii. 70, 460, 461, 464, 521, 524, 553.
Lunfurd, iii. 457.
Lurchari, iv. 549.

Lurgyndaspok, ii. 400; iv. 378, 379, 380, 537.
Luy, ii. 83.
Lyget, ii. 432.
Lykeuyne, ii. 305.
Lynnache, ii. 239.
Lyonsmill, iii. 512.
Lytilkethic, i. 524.

MACDUFF, i. 107, 489.
Macharfurd of Ythan, iii. 38, 101, 105.
Macharis, iv. 314, 315, 441.
Machirhalch, iv. 750.
Mackieshillock, iii. 415.
Mackingy, ii. 109.
Mackterre, iii. 415, 416.
Maiden Stone near Pittodrie, i. 532.
Maidlair, i. 116; iv. 322.
Maldavate, ii. 134, 140; iii. 592.
Maler, iv. 322.
Maliewat, ii. 13, 14.
Malinch, iv. 502.
Malind, i. 248.
Malingall, iii. 458.
Malingsyid, iv. 507, 511.
Mallamorish, iii. 205, 208.
Malshach, i. 90; ii. 174.
Mames, iv. 118.
Mameulach, i. 143, 144, 236; iii. 205, 207, 208.
Mamsy, iv. 125.
Manar, see Badifurrow.
Manderlee, Hill of, ii. 311.
Manecht, iii. 419, 477; iv. 661, 662, 665.
Many, iv. 360.
Manysie, iii. 304.
Mar, Brae of, iv. 244.
Mar, Forest of, i. 86.
..... Rural Deanery of, i. 69, 216, 217, 219.
Marnock, iii. 50.
Martin, ii. 301, 303.
Maryculter, i. 300; iii. 359, 368, 594, 595, 596, 597.
..... Parish of, i. 223, 226, 300; iii. 355-360, 368, 594, 595, 596, 597.
Masle, ii. 248, 249.
Mauchemar, iv. 423.
Maw, iii. 98.
Mearns, Rural Deanery of, i. 254.
Medo, iv. 325.
Medyltonne, iii. 417.
Meetlaw, i. 419.
Meginsh, iii. 141.
Meikle Auchrydie, ii. 438, 440.
..... Auchyocht, ii. 433.
..... Bitht, iii. 510.
..... Clynterta, iii. 220.
..... Crage, i. 301.
..... Fynnersy, iii. 419, 477.
..... Glasco, iii. 244.
..... Govil, i. 235.
..... Gurdas, i. 498, 499, 500, 504.
..... Kenaldy, iii. 234, 242.
Meikletown of Slaines, iii. 160.
..... Wardurs, i. 538, 554, 555, 556; iv. 105, 390, 662, 663, 665.
Meirburn, ii. 312.
Meldrum, i. 23, 90, 348, 558, 559; iii. 44, 46, 60, 61, 73, 377, 413, 414, 415, 416, 417, 422, 468; iv. 405.
..... Lady's Well in, i. 558, 559.
..... Parish of, i. 87, 89, 91, 131, 132, 217, 220, 223, 225, 229, 558-562; ii. 59, 122, 123, 326; iii. 130, 411-416.

Melers, i. 489.
Melginch, iv. 163.
Melgoun, iv. 105, 657, 661, 662, 665.
Melok, i. 323.
Melros in Gamery, iii. 539.
Melsoch, i. 622.
Memsie, i. 442, 451, 452, 453; ii. 377, 378.
Menes, iv. 25.
Mengreowis, ii. 238.
Menie, i. 285, 289.
Menzies, iii. 288.
Merchanstoune, iii. 324.
Merchemar, iv. 425.
Meredene, ii. 317; iii. 579, 580, 581, 582.
Mereduneskyn, ii. 55.
Mergie, iii. 191.
Merytoun, i. 279.
Methlick, i. 116, 323, 324; iii. 14, 35, 42, 52, 53, 70, 75, 102, 103, 277, 421, 446, 473, 530.
..... Parish of, i. 81, 87, 94, 97, 141, 158, 215, 217, 220, 222, 224, 227, 229, 320-329; iii. 51-57, 75.
Michel, ii. 301, 303.
Micris, Hermits Chapel at, i. 641; ii. 85.
Midchingle, Piscaria de, iii. 216, 217.
Midclova, iv. 317.
Middle Crichie, iii. 554, 555, 557.
..... Pitfoddels, iii. 264, 265, 270, 271, 272, 273, 276.
Middlethird of Monymusk, ii. 504, 505.
Middleton, iii. 389, 471, 472, 473.
Midesummer, iii. 415.
Midhill, iv. 143, 425.
Midilmast, iv. 398.
Midilmaste Bulgne, ii. 381; iv. 113.
Midlefield, ii. 396.
Midlemoor, iii. 559.
Midlessie, ii. 402, 403; iv. 37.
Midmar, ii. 42, 48; iii. 71, 242, 299; iv. 361, 404, 405, 419.
..... Parish of, i. 85, 217, 219, 223, 225, 227, 229, 635-636; ii. 41-45; iii. 71.
Midmill, iv. 141.
Midstrath, i. 634; ii. 76.
Migvie, i. 632, 640; ii. 25; iii. 583; iv. 218, 219, 237, 255, 277, 278, 483, 485, 694, 696, 716, 723, 738, 739.
..... Parish of, i. 70, 85, 86, 217, 219, 223, 225, 230, 632; ii. 13-25; iii. 417; iv. 485, 690, 692.
Milboy, i. 281, 283, 284; iii. 322, 323, 325, 326, 327, 328, 329.
Milbrek, ii. 432; iii. 512, 559; iv. 21, 39, 63, 559, 562, 563, 564.
Mile, i. 547.
Milfurd, iii. 328.
Milhill, iii. 512; iv. 22, 39, 63, 77, 78, 543, 559, 563, 564, 590, 591, 594, 595.
Milhillis, iv. 143.
Mill of Dundore, i. 554.
Millbrokis, iv. 39.
Milldowrie, iii. 504, 505.
Millegin, ii. 238, 239.
Miln, iv. 499.
Milne of Kincardine, ii. 4.
Milnebigging, iii. 396.
Milnerhill, iv. 79.
Miltoun, ii. 403, 405; iv. 538.
..... de Dunbrek, iii. 80.
..... of Forglen, iii. 575.
..... of Kemnay, iii. 481, 482.

Miltoun in Kincardine O'Neil, iii. 329, 330.
..... of King-Edward, iii. 534.
Mindurno, i. 234; iii. 170, 176, 177, 178, 179; iv. 399.
Mintlaw, ii. 445; iv. 37.
Mireside, ii. 434; iv. 24, 589.
Modirlech, iii. 547.
Modirsech, i. 197.
Moffete, Saint, Bay of, iii. 252.
Moir Carne, ii. 359.
Monaltrie, i. 641; ii. 85, 89, 91.
Monblettoun, ii. 371.
Monboddo, iii. 87.
Moncoffir, i. 117; iii. 94, 126, 170, 193, 221, 342, 385, 519, 533, 538, 563; iv. 678.
Moneiss, iii. 78, 98.
Monelie, i. 476.
Monenyno, iv. 333.
Moneruy, i. 455.
Mongarry, iv. 379, 541, 543.
Mongaual, ii. 109.
Monkeigie, i. 221; iii. 227; iv. 309, 486, 507, 508, 512.
..... Capella de, i. 246, 248; iv. 502.
..... see Keith-Hall, Parish of.
Monksecht, Chapel at, i. 636.
Monkshill, i. 187; ii. 424, 438, 441; iii. 59, 117, 118, 416, 550, 559; iv. 20, 21, 25, 29, 557, 623, 624.
Monksholm, i. 371; ii. 438, 441; iv. 29.
Monlettie, iii. 559.
Monorgund, iii. 125, 135, 136.
Monquech, iv. 633.
Monquhitter, Parish of, i. 70, 97, 224, 473-475; iii. 159.
Montbrey, i. 199.
Montgarie, i. 629.
Montgarit, iv. 541.
Monthmedden, i. 615.
Monycabock, see New Machar, Parish of.
..... i. 235, 236, 237; iii. 200, 201, 202, 203, 204, 209, 539; iv. 173.
..... St. Colm's Chapel at, i. 235.
Monymusk, i. 27, 79, 84, 119, 120, 147, 171, 172, 180, 181, 184, 585, 586; iii. 249, 406, 502, 503, 504, 535; iv. 349, 479, 480, 481, 482, 483, 527, 763, 766, 768, 778.
..... Cemiterium de, iii. 499.
..... Parish of, i. 85, 89, 158, 170, 175, 176, 180, 184, 185, 215, 217, 221, 223, 225, 227, 584-586; ii. 365; iii. 483-505.
..... Priory of, i. 27, 69, 169-185, 217, 493, 584, 585, 599, 602, 603, 604-605; ii. 86, 424; iii. 484, 485, 486, 487, 488, 489, 490, 491, 492, 493, 494, 495, 496, 497, 498; iv. 348, 467, 693.
..... Villa de, iii. 486, 499, 504.
Mooralehouse, ii. 214, 215.
..... Chapel at, ii. 173.
Moreseat, iii. 157.
Moriescroft, iv. 423.
Morinsh, ii. 295.
Mormond, i. 18, 94, 400, 410, 452, 453, 454, 455.
Morphie, i. 159; iii. 337; iv. 399.
Morven, i. 25, 85, 86; ii. 8, 13.
Moschreig, iii. 527.
Mosfeddel, iii. 456.
Mosgarvie, iii. 127.
Mossmad, ii. 6.
Moss-side, ii. 67.

Mosstoun, iii. 37; iv. 507, 511, 513, 533, 535.
Moubreis, ii. 117.
Mounie, i. 581.
Mountblairy, ii. 310, 314, 380; iii. 159, 160, 578, 582; iv. 179.
Mounth, i. 248, 262; ii. 68, 70, 398; iii. 44, 573; iv. 502, 503.
Mounthe Bulge, i. 77.
..... Gammell, i. 77.
..... Keine, i. 77.
Mowat, iv. 321, 753.
Mowny, i. 120.
Muchalls in Mar, i. 27, 79, 84, 118, 238, 637; ii. 48.
..... in Mearns, iii. 20, 22, 127, 154, 172.
Mudhouse, ii. 290.
Muircroft, i. 143, 144, 234; iii. 168, 170, 172, 174, 175.
Muire, iv. 140, 499, 513.
Muires, iii. 71.
..... of Fyvie, iii. 415.
Muiresun, iii. 415.
Muirfurd, ii. 427.
Muirtoun, i. 607; iii. 350, 421, 422; iv. 309, 358, 359, 360, 756, 757.
Mukual, i. 179.
Mukwell, iv. 392, 399, 423.
Muldarie, ii. 242.
..... Hill of, ii. 241.
Munane, iii. 540.
Munbre, Parish of, i. 70, 218, 220.
Murcur, iv. 667, 668.
Mureseit, iii. 349.
Muresk, i. 463, 464, 465, 466; iii. 510, 511, 561, 562, 564, 565, 567, 569, 575.
Murestoun of Forgue, iii. 114.
Murifald, ii. 238; iii. 159.
Murlache, ii. 263.
Murreffstoune, iii. 588.
Murrod, i. 145.
Murthlack, i. 120, 141, 145; ii. 263, 264; iv. 115.
..... Bell of, ii. 253.
..... Monastery of, i. 145, 169.
..... Parish of, i. 12, 69, 123, 128, 141, 157, 215, 217, 219, 223, 225, 649-650, 651; ii. 152, 252, 253-267; iv. 460.
Murtle, i. 147; iii. 85, 303, 351, 352, 353, 355, 366, 458.
Muthillok, iv. 565, 566.
Muttounbray, iv. 51, 579.
Mynneny, iii. 66, 67.
Mynyett, iii. 201, 202.

NACHTANE, iii. 267.
Nedder Fortree, iii. 18.
Neddertollach, iv. 481
Nedertoune, iii. 477.
Nesche, The, ii. 371.
Nether Altarlands of Foveran, ii. 438, 441.
..... Ardlethen, iii. 20, 38, 39, 40.
..... Auchquhorteis, ii. 250; iii. 482.
..... Auquhorsk, i. 252.
..... Balfosk, iii. 503.
Netherbigging, iv. 351, 353.
Nether Boddom, iii. 409.
..... Bulgny, ii. 381; iv. 388.
..... Cantlie, ii. 239.
..... Contlaw, iii. 345.
Netherdale, ii. 98, 136, 217, 222, 390; iii. 68.
Nether Dyce, iii. 234.

Netherhall, see Barnes.
Nether Kilmenedeis, ii. 239; iii. 568.
..... Kinminity, iii. 159.
..... Kinmundy, i. 412.
.... Chapel at, i. 412, 413.
..... Leask, iii. 150, 155, 156.
..... Muir, i. 19, 406, 407.
..... Muiresun, iii. 415.
..... Mylne, ii. 238.
..... Ord, iv. 316.
..... Pettouly, ii. 377, 378.
..... Rainnieshill, iii. 208.
..... Rowrandalls, iii. 504, 505.
..... Skellmuir, iii. 71.
..... Starbridge, iii. 415.
..... Toun, iv. 39.
..... Towie, Chapel at, i. 611, 612.
..... Towis, iv. 438, 439, 448, 736, 772, 773.
..... Tullochs, iii. 414.
..... Wood, iii. 159.
Nettie, i. 616.
Neuchincrist, ii. 301, 303.
New, i. 79, 616, 617; iv. 475.
Newark in Crimonmogate, i. 429.
Newburgh, i. 116, 365, 371, 373, 374; iii. 95, 96, 97, 98, 99, 100, 101, 102, 103, 104, 107, 108, 109, 110, 112, 151, 152; iv. 20, 26, 29, 508.
..... Chapel at, i. 365; iii. 99, 110.
..... Hospital at, i. 365, 371, 372, 461; iii. 130.
Newbigging, i. 620, 621; iii. 396, 518; iv. 414, 471, 487, 491, 492, 493.
New Deer, iv. 19, 20, 22, 28, 30, 557.
New Deer, Parish of, i. 70, 94, 97, 187, 224, 405-409; ii. 442-444; iv. 48-61, 573-581.
..... Flanders, iii. 395, 396.
..... Forest in Buchan, ii. 406, 407; iii. 14; iv. 33.
Newhall, iii. 300.
Newhill, iv. 588.
Newhills, Parish of, i. 70, 85, 224, 237-241; iii. 210-222.
Newkirk, iii. 215.
Newlands, i. 530, 538; iv. 533.
..... de Dunbrek, iii. 80.
..... in Garioch, iii. 193, 375, 387.
New Leslie, i. 546; iii. 53, 387, 393, 400, 406, 421, 446.
..... Machar, Parish of, i. 70, 87, 223, 224, 230, 235-237; iii. 198-210.
..... Miln of Auchindoir, i. 614.
..... More, iii. 429.
..... Murcroft, iv. 647.
..... Mylne, iv. 278, 317.
..... Park, ii. 107.
.... de Kelli, i. 319; iii. 43.
..... Parks, see Whitmyres.
..... Place, iv. 308.
Newseat, iv. 589, 595.
..... of Murtle, iii. 355.
..... of Schives, iii. 71, 559.
Newtoun, iii. 267; iv. 220, 224, 225, 227, 278, 314, 315, 368, 369, 441, 487, 507, 511, 565, 566, 750.
..... of Culsalmond, i. 556, 557.
..... in Garioch, i. 23, 389, 476; iii. 401, 429, 447.
..... of Lismore, i. 475.
..... in Longside, ii. 445.

Newtoun in Murtlach, i. 12.
..... of Murtle, iii. 355.
..... of Schives, iii. 71, 75, 76, 559.
..... Standing Stone near, i. 557.
Newtyle, i. 366.
New Wester, iv. 220, 224, 225, 227.
Newwork of Pittendrum, i. 442.
Nigg, i. 257; iii. 252.
..... Parish of, i. 72, 223, 226, 229, 252-263; iii. 245-253.
..... St. Fittick's Well at, i. 253.
Norhame, iv. 360.
Normanstown, iii. 409.
North Badiechells, iii. 415.
Northesse, ii. 396, 402, 403.
Northfield, i. 488, 489; ii. 407; iv. 597.
North Leslie, i. 445.
..... Month, iii. 573.
Northtoun of Ardune, iii. 452, 453.
..... of Delgaty, iii. 507.
Now, iv. 233.

Oboyne, see Aboyne.
Ochluchry, see Auchleuchry.
Ochterellon, see Auchterellon.
Ochtereny, see Auchterrony.
Ochtermuny, iv. 320.
Ochtircule, see Auchtercuill.
Ochtyrbrass, i. 147.
Ogilvie, iii. 38, 166, 167, 307, 584.
Ogistoun, iii. 170.
Oikhorn, ii. 432; iii. 90, 91, 92.
Old Bourty, iii. 417.
..... Clochie, iii. 440.
..... Crag of Inverugie, see Ravenscraig.
..... Deer, see Deer.
Old Flanders, iii. 395, 396.
..... Govel, iii. 209.
..... Leslie, iii. 387, 390, 393, 394, 395, 396, 400.
Oldmad, see Aldmad.
Old Meldrum, i. 559; iii. 414, 415.
..... More, ii. 240.
..... Rayn, iii. 439, 440.
..... Town of Gight, iii. 559.
Old Town of Shives, iii. 71.
Oneil, i. 120, 607; ii. 30, 31, 43; iii. 303, 308, 313; iv. 356, 357, 358, 359, 360, 394, 397, 756, 757.
Orchardfeild, iii. 268, 269, 273.
Orchardtoun, iii. 86, 87, 88; iv. 25, 595, 674.
Ord, ii. 110; iii. 328.
Ordbothbathfyn, i. 337.
Orde, iv. 177, 313, 314, 315, 381, 441.
Ordebofyn, i. 337; iii. 5.
Ordeford, see Ardefork.
Ordeis, iii. 239.
Ordendrayn, i. 337.
Ordequhill, Parish of, i. 70, 122, 188, 218, 220, 222, 225, 645; ii. 107-110.
..... St. Mary's Well at, ii. 107, 108.
Ordhaugh, iii. 504, 505.
Ordhead, iii. 504, 505.
Ordiesnaught, i. 476.
Ordinhuff, iii. 34, 584.
Ordinkabir, i. 344.
Ordlethin, see Ardlethin.
Ordley, iii. 408, 570, 572.
Ordlothlany, i. 337.
Ordmidill, i. 464; iii. 510, 511, 561, 562, 564, 565, 566, 569.
Ordmill, iii. 504.

Ordnadulach, i. 562.
Ordnies, ii. 117, 132.
Ordonedrane, iii. 60, 61.
Ordovnn, see Ardoyne.
Ordwood, iii. 504, 505.
Ordyquhork, iv. 341, 396, 419.
Orky, i. 338.
Orrok, iii. 47.
Orti, iv. 546.
Ouchterarne, see Auchterarne.
Ouchterdurris, see Auchterdurris.
Ouchterhouse, see Auchterhouse.
Ouchterkeig, iv. 483.
Ouchterless, see Auchterless.
Oudny, see Udny.
Oulmesli, i. 524.
Ouras, iv. 626, 627.
Outchrorre, iii. 504.
Outhill, iv. 595.
Outhirheyclt, i. 174, 179.
Outhirkeig, iv. 481.
Outlaw, iv. 120, 651.
Over Altarlands of Foveran, ii. 438, 441.
Overardmachane, i. 390.
Over Auchquhorteis, ii. 250; iii. 482.
Overbarnes, iii. 400, 401.
Over Blairtoun, iii. 47, 212, 361.
Overboddom, iii. 408, 409.
Overbulgny, ii. 381; iv. 388.
Over Cantlie, ii. 239.
..... Contlaw, iii. 345.
Overglassy, iv. 110.
Overhall, i. 550, 551; iii. 400, 401.
Overhaughtone, iv. 145.
Overhauch, iv. 146.
Overhill, i. 327.
Overhiltoun, iii. 159.
Over Kilbatho, iv. 312.
Over Kinminity, iii. 159.
..... Leask, iii. 156.
..... Muiresun, iii. 415.
..... Mylne, ii. 238.
..... Ordley, iii. 562.
..... Pettouly, ii. 377, 378.
..... Rainnieshill, iii. 208.
..... Rowrandalls, iii. 504, 505.
..... Scottistoun, iv. 598.
..... Starbridge, iii. 415.
Overstende, iv. 460.
Overtowis, iv. 438, 439, 448, 736, 772, 773, 774.
Overtown, iii. 482.
Over Tullochs, iii. 414.
Owlenys, i. 484.
Oykarne, iv. 22, 41, 570, 571.
Oyne, i. 120, 147, 579; iii. 441; iv. 525, 526.
..... Parish of, i. 89, 91, 146, 157, 215, 218, 220, 223, 225, 228, 579-580; iii. 387, 441-454; iv. 533.

Paddocklaw, ii. 110.
Paforyn, i. 298; iii. 337.
Pannanich, Forest of, i. 25, 640.
Pareot, i. 467.
Pariock, iii. 50.
Park, i. 18, 645; ii. 107; iv. 79, 641.
..... of Corncairn, ii. 110.
..... of Drum, iii. 292, 293, 294, 295, 296, 300, 304, 308.
..... de Fyvie, i. 504; ii. 332.
..... of Kelly, i. 21, 200.
Parkbeg, ii. 257.
..... Chapel at, i. 649.
Parkcreichmond, iv. 633.
Parkhill, i. 236; iii. 482; iv. 404.

Parkhill in Formartine, i. 499, 500.
Parkis, iv. 320.
Parkle, iii. 397.
Parkyeocht, ii. 432.
Peath of Mininie, i. 496.
Peddeismilne, iv. 308.
Peddy, iii. 421.
Peill, iv. 513.
Peirismylne, iv. 565, 566.
Peithill, iv. 110.
Penercerys, iv. 160.
Pennan, i. 19, 97, 102, 445, 447; iii. 158; iv. 120, 121, 674, 676.
Percock, iv. 22, 615.
Perdouen, iii. 74.
Perkhows, iv. 23.
Persancis, iii. 566.
Persinot, iii. 572.
Perskow, iii. 13.
Persley, iii. 165, 167, 244.
Persluk, iv. 145.
Perwinnes, iii. 176.
Petberne, iv. 331, 332.
Petbey, i. 530, 538; iii. 375.
Petbrachan, i. 278.
Petcarry, iii. 259.
Petdulsie, iv. 581.
Petebrachere, iii. 289.
Pettenderlyn, iii. 152.
Peterculter, Parish of, i. 42, 85, 216, 218, 221, 223, 224, 230, 291-300, 353; iii. 337-355.
Peterhead, i. 20, 75, 96, 97, 98, 187, 371, 414, 415, 416, 417, 418, 419; ii. 438, 442; iii. 127; iv. 18, 20, 557.
..... Parish of, i. 93, 97, 187, 216, 219, 222, 224, 227, 228, 229, 230, 384, 411, 414-419; ii. 410, 423, 431, 434, 438, 441, 444, 445; iv. 17, 24, 25, 66-72, 558, 589-597.
Peterhead, St. Peter's Well at, i. 415, 416.
Peter's Well, i. 291.
Peterugy, see Peterhead, Parish of.
..... iv. 556, 558.
Petgerwy, i. 605.
Petgovny, iii. 369, 372, 373, 416, 477; iv. 726.
Pethethiscroft, iv. 678.
Pethferlen, i. 145, 154.
Pethnik, ii. 239.
Pethruithin, ii. 149, 250, 251.
Petinbla, iv. 36.
Pet-Spair, iv. 548.
Petiscroft, iii. 447.
Petkarry, iii. 43.
Petkindy, iii. 233.
Petlyell, iii. 135, 136.
Petmakaldor, iv. 116.
Petmalwhy, iv. 175.
Petmurquhy, ii. 38, 39.
Petmyllan, iv. 26.
Petnacadill, iii. 167.
Petnamone, iv. 390.
Petnamwin, iii. 392.
Petquhonsy, i. 118; iii. 590.
Pets, ii. 340.
Petskurry, i. 538; iii. 374; iv. 737, 738.
Petslegach, iv. 388.
Petsprottis, i. 445.
Pettalochy, iv. 106, 111, 112, 113, 648, 658, 665.
Pettauchie, iii. 33, 35, 36.
Pettens, i. 237; iii. 215.
Pettinbruynache, ii. 136; iii. 68.
Pettindreychtissait, iv. 564, 566.

Pettindrome, Portus de, iii. 171.
Pettinhaich, ii. 402, 403.
Pettinlauche, iv. 220, 224, 225, 227.
Pett-in-Mulenn, iv. 546.
Pettintargie, i. 121.
Pettinuik, iv. 770.
Pett-Malduib, iv. 547.
Pett-mic-Garnait, iv. 546.
Pett-mic-Gobroig, iv. 547, 548.
Pettmuk, iii. 115, 117; iv. 25, 418, 422.
Pettochery, i. 538.
Petts, iii. 504, 505.
Petty, i. 504; ii. 332; iii. 543.
Pettymarcus, iii. 512; iv. 22, 39, 63, 559, 563, 564, 566.
Pettymelie, iv. 475.
Philorth, see Fraserburgh, Parish of.
..... i. 97, 411, 433, 434, 435, 471; ii. 375; iii. 14, 33, 42, 52, 64, 70, 72, 73, 89, 91, 94, 105, 126, 151, 170, 260, 276, 304, 305, 307, 315, 335, 364, 375, 383, 408, 418, 448, 449, 471, 516, 526, 527, 530, 531, 532, 534, 542, 577, 578, 589, 590, 592.
..... Baronia de, iv. 644, 649, 650, 652, 653.
Phinzeach, i. 619.
Picktillum, iii. 504, 505; iv. 51, 579.
Pilmyre, iii. 396.
Pilquhyit, iv. 507, 511.
Pirchock, iv. 188.
Pitblac, ii. 390, 391.
Pitcaple, i. 23, 79, 90, 531, 537; iii. 53, 385, 386, 387, 388, 419, 420, 458.
..... Capellania de, iii. 371, 386.
Pitcarlie, iv. 645.
Pitendreighseat, iv. 39.
Pitfichie, i. 79, 119, 585, 586; iii. 14, 33, 450, 491, 493, 499, 500, 501, 504, 505.
Pitfoddels, i. 78, 118, 264, 266; iii. 53, 129, 155, 195, 197, 215, 256, 261, 262, 263, 264, 265, 267, 269, 270, 271, 272, 273, 274, 275, 276, 277, 278, 279, 280, 284, 287, 288, 303, 446, 452, 454, 464; iv. 660.
Pitfour, i. 118, 398, 399, 400, 404; ii. 406, 407, 408, 409, 432; iii. 41; iv. 21, 43, 44, 45, 46, 47, 48, 393.
Pitgersie, iii. 95.
Pitlauchlithe, iv. 278.
Pitlurg, i. 15; ii. 149, 155, 156, 250, 252; iii. 35, 196, 280; iv. 570.
Pitmachie, Standing Stone near, i. 557.
..... iii. 443, 444, 445, 446, 447.
Pitmeddan, iii. 442, 444, 445, 446, 447, 538, 561; iv. 520, 525, 526.
Pitmedden in Udny, i. 22, 358; iii. 158, 422.
..... St. Ninian's Chapel at, i. 579.
Pitmilland, i. 367.
Pitmonie, iii. 503, 504, 505.
Pitmuckston, i. 231, 232; iii. 183, 184, 185, 186, 187, 188, 191.
Pitnacalder, i. 488.
Pitscaff, iii. 95.
Pitscurrie, iii. 440.
Pitsligo, i. 19, 97, 435, 436, 439; ii. 377, 378. 381, 382, 383; iii. 30, 65, 78, 89, 105, 221, 257, 305, 375, 404, 458, 459, 467, 468, 519, 521; iv. 110, 648.
..... Baronia de, iv. 658, 659, 660, 662, 664, 665.
..... Chapel of the Nine Maidens near, i. 435.

Pitsligo, Maynes of, iv. 110.
..... The Nine Maidens' Well near, i. 439.
..... Parish of, i. 70, 93, 97, 224, 435-442; ii. 382-383; iv. 104-113, 656-668.
Pittelachie, ii. 8.
Pittendrigh, ii. 217, 222, 390, 421; iii. 46, 169, 542, 557; iv. 4, 5, 481, 485, 550.
..... Manys de, iv. 550.
..... Overtoun de, iv. 550.
Pittendrum, i. 435, 441, 442; ii. 390, 391; iv. 36, 648, 667, 668.
Pittindawin, i. 78.
Pittinner, iii. 505.
Pittodrie, i. 23, 79, 532, 536; iii. 374, 422, 441; iv. 737.
..... Hospital at, i. 527.
Pittrichie, i. 22, 351, 357; iii. 59, 71, 72, 74, 75, 86, 559.
Pittullie, i. 19, 439, 441; iv. 98, 99, 102, 103, 104, 105, 120, 125, 648, 649, 651.
Pitvaich, ii. 257.
Plady, i. 471; ii. 352, 355, 356; iii. 126, 507; iv. 88.
Plane, iii. 579, 581.
Pleyhaugh, iii. 225.
Pofluig, Mains of, iv. 140.
Polenterf, ii. 232.
Polflig, iv. 145, 146, 423.
Polglassy, iii. 562, 563, 567, 569.
Polgouny, i. 113, 234; iii. 168, 170, 171, 172, 174.; iv. 667, 668.
Pollcalk, iii. 159, 160.
Pollisdone, ii. 367.
Polmolat, iii. 259.
Polnave, i. 288.
Polneterf, ii. 428.
Pondircroft, iv. 578, 579.
Pontalond, iv. 665.
Poolwalls, i. 537.
Portarstoune, iii. 268, 269, 273.
Portknockie, ii. 142.
Portlethin, i. 265, 266; iii. 258.
..... Chapel at, i. 264.
Portsoy, ii. 95.
Portterstown, iv. 308.
Pot, Piscaria de, iii. 216, 218.
Potare, iii. 116.
Potarffe, i. 77.
Powdown, Piscaria de, iii. 247.
Powys, i. 153.
Poyck, iii. 404.
Pratistone, iii. 540.
Premnay, iii. 396, 401.
..... Parish of, i. 89, 91, 218, 220, 221, 223, 225, 227, 228, 246, 550-552; iii. 396-401, 406; iv. 502, 504, 507, 509, 512.
Prescoly, i. 231.
Presholm, i. 648.
Prestoune, iii. 281.
Priestwellis, iv. 514.
Pronie, ii. 13.
Pulnacoy, i. 298; iii. 337.
Pundlarcroft, ii. 433; iv. 23, 54.
Putachie, i. 79, 619, 620; iv. 480, 483, 485.
Putaquhy of Monymusk, iii. 504, 505.
Puttumy, iv. 481.

Quarrell, i. 467, 471; ii. 352, 377, 378.
Quarrellhill de Delgattie, ii. 358.
Quartailhouse, i. 187; ii. 438, 440; iv. 19, 22, 27, 557.

Querell, iv. 88.
Quhichester, see Whichester.
Quhitcarnis, iv. 578, 579.
Quhite Rigis, see White Rigs.
Quhoich, ii. 83.
Quhyitbog, ii. 433; iv. 579.
Quhyithill, ii. 433; iv. 578, 579, 585, 588.
Quhyitstanis, iv. 578, 579.
Quhytfeild, iv. 597.
Quhythaych, see Whitehaugh.
Quhytmik, iv. 513.
Quilquax, iii. 559.
Quisne, iii. 566.
Quisny, iv. 319, 321, 336.
Quithle, Chapel at, i. 443.
Quoquoddilstane, see Coldstane, Parish of.
Quyltis, see Cults.
Quyltpat, iii. 405.
Qwiltis, iv. 220, 224, 225, 227, 475, 576.

Rachirald, iii. 482.
Raebaitts, iii. 67.
Raggel, i. 647.
Rahill, iv. 17, 20, 21, 24, 25, 29, 557.
Raik, i. 315; iii. 29, 114, 215, 217.
Rainnieshill, iii. 208.
Rainnieston, i. 171; iii. 91, 100, 159, 195; iv. 595.
Ramore, i. 638; ii. 51.
Ranatehillock, ii. 312.
Ranatston, iii. 10.
Ranis, i. 648.
Ranishill in Peterculter, iii. 345.
Rannabroith, ii. 90, 91.
Rashelaw, ii. 396.
Rassalach, i. 338.
Rathe, ii. 109.
Ratheaquhy, iv. 78.
Rathen, ii. 377, 378.
..... Parish of, i. 93, 97, 103, 133, 134, 148, 217, 220, 222, 224, 409, 451-459; ii. 392, 393; iii. 89; iv. 124-135, 579, 583, 584, 588, 653, 683-685.
..... Rood Well in, i. 453.
Rathimorchus, ii. 138.
Rathnoquhyn, iv. 79.
Raths, iii. 36.
Rathven, Hospital at, i. 648; ii. 142, 143, 144.
..... Parish of, i. 158, 210, 215, 216, 218, 220, 222, 225, 229, 648, 649; ii. 136, 142-146, 152.
Rattray, see Crimond, Parish of.
..... i. 19, 70, 423, 424, 425, 426, 427; ii. 395, 396; iii. 122, 151, 152, 155, 158; iv. 115, 595, 637, 638, 639.
..... Chapel at, i. 423, 424; ii. 394, 395; iv. 62.
..... Haddo of, iv. 640.
Ravenscraig, i. 19, 97, 418, 419; ii. 398; iv. 71, 72, 594, 595.
Ravystone, iii. 170, 171.
Rayne, i. 120, 143, 144, 155, 335; iii. 4, 58, 210, 378, 428, 429, 431, 432, 433, 434, 543; iv. 486, 541.
..... Parish of, i. 89, 91, 158, 218, 221, 223, 225, 228, 577-578; iii. 382, 428-441.
..... St. Lawrence Well in, i. 577.
Reabadds, iii. 474.
Reatie, ii. 117; iii. 581, 586.
Redbank, ii. 312.

Redhaven, ii. 95.
Redinche, iv. 502.
Red Myre, iii. 306.
Reghillfauld, ii. 396.
Reidbong, i. 409.
Reidfoord, iii. 474.
Reidhill, iii. 572.
Repochquhy, iv. 312.
Reras, iv. 407.
Ressavate, iii. 376, 384, 385, 386, 481.
Ret, iii. 35.
Rhynie, ii. 153, 155.
..... Parish of, i. 230; ii. 147, 148, 149, 150, 151, 152, 156, 157, 162, 176-180.
Ricartoune, iii. 466.
Ridfurd, iv. 465.
Rigale, ii. 134, 135.
Rihill, iii. 542; iv. 522.
Riland, iii. 306, 567, 585, 586.
Rindstock, i. 617.
Rinnavoene, iv. 470.
Rinnes, i. 12.
Rishypannis, ii. 312.
Rivan, Wow of, ii. 186.
Robertson, iii. 345.
Rochinvirell, iv. 255, 277.
Rochmuriel, i. 222, 625; iv. 218, 219, 501, 502, 514, 515, 521, 525, 526, 739.
..... Parish of, i. 70, 218, 221, 223, 228, 246, 248, 625; iii. 406.
Rogershill, iii. 329.
Rollanstown, iii. 23.
Romakendel, i. 346.
Romore, ii. 221.
Roquhartore, ii. 90, 91.
Rora, i. 445; iv. 24.
Rosarie, ii. 242.
Rosehall, i. 236.
Rosehearty, i. 96, 107, 440; iv. 110, 111, 112.
..... Chapel near, i. 440.
..... Newtoun of, iv. 110.
..... Porthavin de, iv. 112.
Rosehill, see Turnerhall.
..... iii. 24, 25.
Rosieburn, ii. 311.
Rossachetis, Chapel of, iii. 369.
Rossalla, iii. 67.
Rosseviot, iv. 582.
Rotheis, ii. 329.
Rotheneyk, iv. 716.
Rothiemay, i. 13, 15, 286, 554; ii. 159, 225, 227, 228.
..... Parish of, i. 15; ii. 147, 148, 150, 151, 225-230, 251.
Rothkes, iv. 486.
Rothmaise, i. 577; iii. 428, 429, 435.
..... St. Mary's Chapel at, i. 577.
Rothmathie, ii. 394.
Rothnachie, iv. 121.
Rothnakenze, iii. 49.
Rothnaverral, iv. 278.
Rothnays, iii. 400, 406.
Rothney, i. 551, 554.
Rothnoquhy, iv. 594, 595.
Rothraquhy, iv. 77.
Rothuan, ii. 155.
Rothwen, iv. 723, 732.
Rothybrisbane, i. 498, 504; ii. 326, 328; iii. 45, 512, 558.
Rothynormane, i. 594; ii. 73; iii. 59, 552, 553, 554; iv. 318, 321.
Rottoche, iii. 511, 562, 564, 565, 566, 569.
Round Lichnett, iii. 414.
Rove Buky, ii. 146.

Rowfuird, iii. 415.
Rowis, iii. 477.
Rowrandalls, iii. 504, 505.
Royster, i. 615.
Rubislaw, i. 232, 233, 243; iii. 181, 182, 215, 218.
Ruddriston, i. 79, 232; iii. 193; iv. 486.
Rudriggis, iv. 491, 492, 493.
Ruffenis, i. 118.
Ruidgait, iv. 595.
Rummor, i. 618; iv. 467.
Runys of Kylbuthock, iv. 73, 74.
Ruthauen, see Logie Mar, Parish of.
Ruthtrelen, ii. 158.
Ruthven, Parish of, i. 230; ii. 147, 148, 149, 150, 152, 156, 157, 162, 163, 186-188; iv. 693.
..... Camdale, ii. 308.
Ruvynauchlache, iv. 341, 396, 419.
Ryell, iv. 316.

St. Combs, i. 429.
St. Ethernens Slack, i. 455.
St. Fergus, Parish of, i. 70, 93, 97, 123, 217, 220, 222, 224, 227, 228, 229, 230, 419-423; ii. 121, 122, 397-406; iii. 321; iv. 37, 72-77, 598-631.
St. Machar, Cathedral of, see Aberdeen.
..... Parish of, i. 75, 87, 144, 145, 158, 218, 223, 224, 226, 228, 231-234, 235; iii. 161-198.
St. Nicholas, Collegiate Church of in Aberdeen, see Aberdeen.
..... Parish of, i. 85, 166, 218, 221, 223, 224, 226, 228, 229, 237, 241-243; ii. 356.
St. Owens Hill, i. 454.
Saithlie, iv. 41, 571, 572.
Sakfurd of Fyvie, iii. 101, 105.
Salquhok, iv. 82.
Saltcoats, i. 323; iv. 116.
Saltoun, iv. 361.
Sanchar, iii. 324.
Sanclarnaws, iii. 160.
Sandend, ii. 96.
Sandfurd, iii. 121, 515.
Sandhalch, ii. 314, 316; iii. 582, 583, 584; iv. 179.
Sandhaven, i. 442.
Sandiehillock, iii. 504, 505.
Saphock, i. 581; ii. 445; iii. 415.
Saplingbrae, i. 185.
Sarbogs, iii. 440.
Sathtlee, iv. 560.
Satlinraw West, iv. 110.
Sauchak, ii. 332.
Sauchie, iii. 146, 148, 417.
Sauchin, i. 79; ii. 49.
Sauchingis, iv. 404.
Sauchock, i. 498, 504, 505; ii. 435.
..... of Kinmundie, ii. 438, 441; iv. 21, 29.
Savach, Chapel at, i. 405.
Savock, i. 187; iii. 157; iv. 22, 24, 26, 38, 557.
Scairsoch, i. 24.
Scale Merlec, iv. 549.
Scamsgyse, iv. 146, 147.
Scanehushope, iv. 160.
Scarelavereik, iv. 37.
Scatyrty, ii. 360, 361; iii. 525, 526, 527, 528, 529, 530.
Schanvill, ii. 89, 91.
Scheilfeild, i. 606; iv. 355, 362.

Schenocht, iv. 143.
Schery, iii. 20.
Schethynrawestone, i. 355, 356; iii. 13, 141.
Schevaldo, iv. 22, 54, 578, 579.
Schives, i. 116, 321, 334; iii. 14, 64, 66, 68, 69, 70, 71, 75, 89, 151, 224, 340, 411, 421, 550, 551, 558, 559, 590.
Schowane, iv. 27.
Sclaty, i. 143, 144; iii. 210, 238, 239.
Sclenemingorne, i. 172.
Sclewo, iv. 434.
Scotfatisland, iii. 504.
Scotsmill, iv. 71, 594, 595.
Scottstoun, i. 200, 231; iii. 168; iv. 526.
Scroghill, ii. 438, 440; iv. 20, 22, 28, 557.
Scurryfurd, ii. 312.
Scutriefoord, iv. 329.
Seafield, ii. 138.
Seatoun, Boig of, ii. 371.
Sebbie, iv. 308.
Sedyden, iii. 280.
Segateden, iv. 529.
Seggiefoord of Fyvie, iii. 38.
Segyden, i. 624; iii. 376, 417; iv. 513, 515, 530, 532, 533.
Selbie, i. 541; iii. 376, 422.
Selmys, iii. 82, 178, 371, 372, 465, 508, 538.
Senglassangortyn, i. 562.
Senglee, iv. 160.
Seymillys, Passagium de, iii. 267.
Seytoun, iv. 651.
Shank, The, ii. 371.
Shean-Spittal, see Cairnwall.
Sheelagreen, i. 556, 557.
Sheels, i. 636.
Sheils, i. 285.
Shettocksley, iii. 216, 217, 218.
Shiel, The, i. 594.
Shithinn, i. 330; iii. 76, 129, 170, 171; iv. 667.
..... Chapel at, i. 330.
Sidgot, iii. 542.
Siggat, iv. 580, 581.
Sigget, St. Mary's Chapel at, i. 507.
Sillavathy, iv. 426.
Silverhillock, iv. 565, 566.
Silverwells, i. 461.
Sinaboth, i. 116.
Sinnahard, Chapel at, i. 612.
Skatterty, iii. 159; iv. 102, 103, 120, 650, 651, 653.
Skeeth, iv. 760.
Skeith, ii. 105, 106.
Skellater, i. 79, 616; iv. 219, 227, 233, 475.
Skellmuir, iii. 50, 71.
Skene, i. 116, 159, 279, 280, 284; iii. 33, 64, 89, 94, 103, 126, 170, 193, 226, 241, 260, 313, 314, 315, 316, 318, 319, 321, 323, 324, 325, 326, 328, 335, 340, 383, 384, 418, 427, 428, 446, 518, 519, 535, 540, 551, 561, 563, 589, 591; iv. 693.
..... Loch of, i. 280; ii. 47, 49; iii. 313, 316, 317, 329.
..... Parish of, i. 85, 126, 223, 224, 228, 279-285; iii. 241, 313-330, 407.
Skewow, iii. 13.
Skieth, Chapel of Our Lady of Pity at, i. 644.
Skillimarnock, Hill of, i. 410.

Skillmanee, iii. 75, 76, 559.
Skillymarno, i. 187; ii. 438, 440; iv. 20, 23, 28, 557.
Skilmuir, iv. 22.
Skipynch, iii. 213.
Skir Drostan, see Aberdour, Parish of.
Slains, i. 20, 97, 115, 120, 316, 355, 356, 364, 372, 376, 378, 382, 383, 385, 386, 388, 389, 390, 391, 392, 395, 407; ii. 346, 391, 403, 405, 442; iii. 12, 13, 19, 22, 38, 40, 91, 119, 122, 123, 124, 126, 130, 132, 133, 140, 141, 148, 149, 150, 151, 152, 153, 154, 155, 156, 157, 158, 160, 183, 257; iv. 91, 640, 677.
..... Castrum de, iii. 123, 128, 150, 156.
..... Cave of, i. 97.
..... Parish of, i. 93, 97, 217, 219, 222, 224, 227, 383, 387-396, 470; iii. 129-160.
Slak, iv. 144, 514.
Slaklethy, ii. 312.
Slap, St. John's Well at, i. 460.
Slawethy, iv. 416, 423.
Sleauche, iv. 565, 566.
Slede, iv. 76.
Sleepyhillocks, iii. 225; iv. 309.
Slewo, i. 479.
Slioch, i. 476; iii. 519.
Slowie, ii. 6.
Sluggarty, iii. 482.
Sluthagh, iii. 3.
Smallburn, iii. 562, 572; iv. 39, 564, 566.
Smedyhous, iv. 507.
Smiddiefauldis, ii. 371.
Smidiehill, iii. 59; iv. 145.
Smyddeland, iv. 23.
Smydiecroft, iv. 507, 512.
Smythill, iii. 534; iv. 382.
Soccoth, i. 615; ii. 14, 26.
Sounabotht, iv. 204, 440, 442, 443, 750, 772, 774.
Sonnahard, iv. 431, 432, 433, 443, 444, 774.
Souely, iv. 483.
South Badiechells, iii. 415.
Southesse, ii. 402, 403; iv. 598.
Southowlyie, iv. 481.
Sowiehill, i. 90.
Spelancus Ulpin, i. 299; iii. 338.
Spey, Chapel of St. Nicholas at Bridge of, ii. 136, 284.
..... Hospital of St. Nicholas at Bridge of, ii. 278, 283, 285, 286, 287, 288.
..... Bridge of, iii. 417.
Spinhilhunt, iii. 63.
Spittal, i. 120, 125, 152, 153, 155.
..... Hospital at, i. 640.
Stainniehill, iii. 157.
Standingstones, iii. 225; iv. 59, 309.
Stanebrig, iii. 452.
Stanemannishead, ii. 312.
Staneycroft, ii. 427.
Stanhous, iii. 351.
Stanyford, i. 197; iii. 547.
Stanxfield, iii. 512.
Starbrechulach, i. 337.
Starbridge, iii. 415; iv. 74.
Starnamoneth, i. 298; iii. 337.
Steipping Steanis, ii. 371.
Steirn, see Birkhall.
Stellis, Piscaria de, iii. 215, 217.
Sterlinghill, i. 419.

Stervinlinghill, iii. 128, 129.
Stevinsburne, iv. 579.
Stobstane, ii. 427.
Stocke Mounthe, i. 77.
Stocket, Forest of, i. 86, 280; iii. 174, 210, 211, 212, 213.
Stodfauld, iii. 50.
Stonebridges, iv. 110, 318.
Stonehouse of Gight, iii. 559.
Stoniefield, i. 476; iii. 520.
Stonkill, iii. 50.
Stonywood, i. 238, 239; iii. 14, 15, 33, 52, 65, 78, 105, 157, 193, 220, 221, 257, 276, 303, 305, 315, 335, 340, 375, 384, 448, 449, 450, 516, 519, 533, 536, 551; iv. 38.
Stonywood, St. Mary's Chapel at, i. 238, 239.
Strachan, i. 77; ii. 72, 73, 74; iii. 319, 384; iv. 628.
..... Parish of, i. 89, 223, 226, 651; ii. 68-75.
Straibknow, ii. 239.
Straitgarnik, iv. 422, 423.
Straloch, i. 22, 236, 237; ii. 263; iii. 7, 11, 17, 18, 35, 64, 71, 89, 151, 193, 303, 315, 383, 384, 408, 421, 533, 554, 561, 590; iv. 567, 568, 569, 570, 612, 616, 617, 630, 631.
..... Chapel at, i. 236.
Stralownak, iv. 423, 426, 656.
Stramor, iv. 445, 446.
Stranalak, iv. 416.
Strathalva, iii. 370, 576, 577, 578, 584, 586; iv. 89, 167, 170, 350.
Strathalvecht, see Alva, Parish of.
Strathardill, i. 551.
Strathbeg, i. 19, 97, 423, 424, 430.
Strathbogie, i. 13, 14, 15, 27, 72, 115, 250, 476; ii. 159, 160, 161, 180; iii. 108, 230; iv. 63, 162, 340, 465, 561, 563, 565, 567.
..... Castle, i. 14, 389, 554, 556; ii. 164, 165.
..... Rural Deanery of, ii. 147, 148, 155, 158, 282, 304.
Strathbrok, iv. 603, 613.
Strathdee, i. 24, 36; ii. 89, 91; iii. 298, 299, 323; iv. 191, 194, 216, 236, 244, 275, 393, 715, 743, 744, 747.
..... see Crathie, Parish of.
Strathdon, i. 26, 73; ii. 309; iv. 158, 177, 236, 381, 718, 738, 747, 774.
..... Parish of, i. 79, 85, 158, 170, 173, 215, 217, 219, 223, 225, 230, 548, 616-618; iv. 467-478, 778-783.
Strathdovern, see Cabrach, Parish of.
Strathdown, i. 11, 15, 26, 79, 529; ii. 159, 296, 300, 304, 305, 309; iii. 487.
Strathgarnik, iv. 770.
Strathgartnie, iv. 188.
Strathgirnick, i. 641; ii. 83.
Strathglass, iv. 68, 69.
Strathifentoun, iv. 69.
Strathisla, i. 12, 13, 72; ii. 231, 234, 235, 238, 245-413, 426; iii. 568.
Strathlochach, i. 338.
Strathmore, Loch of, ii. 25.
Strathowne, iv. 182, 277.
Stratht, i. 504; ii. 332.
Strathtary, iii. 536.
Strathtodle, iv. 81.
Strathtry, iii. 328.
Strathurde, ii. 263.
Strattethy, i. 337.

Stravelic, iv. 446.
Straweltis, iv. 445.
Strichen, i. 19, 118, 409, 410; ii. 391, 394, 395.
..... Chapel at, i. 409.
..... Newtoun of, iv. 587.
..... Parish of, i. 70, 94, 97, 224, 409-411; ii. 391-394; iv. 61-66, 582-588.
Strogarnik, iv. 418.
Strogartnay, iii. 133.
Stroglass, iv. 105.
Stroquhary, iii. 535.
Stuarts Spotts, iii. 67.
Summeill, iv. 277, 475.
Sunehoney, iii. 71.
Sunnyside of Northessie, iv. 37.
Surmeil, iv. 219, 227.
Suthnahunne, ii. 48; iv. 404, 405, 419.
Suyfoord, iv. 500.
Swanfoord, iii. 415, 559.
Syde, i. 528; iii. 376, 393; iv. 513, 515, 529, 531, 532, 533, 678, 745.
Sydgat, iii. 560.

Tacis, iv. 319, 320.
Talathrewie, St. Finnan's Chapel at, ii. 173.
Tallarty, iv. 90, 91.
Talzeaucht, iii. 378, 380, 382.
Tamintoul, Chapel at, i. 642; ii. 84.
Tanamoyne, iv. 445, 446.
Tap of Noth, ii. 174, 177, 178.
Tarhendrie, ii. 445.
Tarland, ii. 14, 24; iii. 46, 304, 308; iv. 641, 694.
..... Parish of, i. 70, 85, 86, 217, 219, 223, 225, 230, 632; ii. 13-25; iii. 417; iv. 690, 696.
Tarmore, ii. 242.
Tarpersie, iv. 539.
Tarsethill, iii. 156.
Tartauie, iii. 327, 329; iv. 627.
Tartie, i. 362; iii. 19, 23, 89, 158; iv. 121, 677.
Tarves, i. 21, 120, 321, 323, 338, 340, 343, 345, 346, 348, 349, 350, 352; iii. 57, 58, 59, 60, 61, 67, 72, 73, 75, 411, 416; iv. 394, 405.
..... Chapel at, i. 330.
..... Hospital at, i. 330.
..... Officium de Rethy de, i. 442.
..... Parish of, i. 21, 87, 94, 97, 199, 216, 217, 220, 222, 223, 224, 227, 229, 261, 329-356, 357; ii. 59, 119, 120, 121, 122, 123; iii. 57-76, 188, 301, 411, 468, 559.
Tarwathie, ii. 142; iv. 98, 99.
Tavilty, iii. 234; iv. 520, 523, 524, 525, 526.
Tavoltie, iii. 67.
Taynlie, iv. 445, 446.
Tebirtaw, iii. 95.
Techmurie, i. 433, 434; iii. 50.
Technabrodach, i. 299.
Teitswall, iv. 48.
Telanchsyne, ii. 36.
Telenire, ii. 232.
Temple Croftis, iv. 514.
Templetoun, i. 590; iii. 125, 128; iv. 317.
Tenyfield, iii. 157.
Teorieclamchyne, ii. 367.
Tervy, ii. 295.
Tewthar, iii. 159.
Thailbog, ii. 427.
Thainstoune, i. 116, 251, 574, 575, 576, 577; iii. 67.
Thanydoune, iv. 525.

Thirucis, iv. 476.
Thomastoune, iii. 512, 520, 562, 572; iv. 565, 566.
Thomebayne, iv. 463.
Thomnacoulok, iv. 331, 332.
Thomquhatly, iv. 331, 332.
Thomreoch, iv. 447.
Thornehill, i. 327.
Thorneways, iv. 565, 566.
Thorntoun, i. 564; ii. 238; iii. 38, 87, 127, 138, 154.
Thoumereauch, ii. 88, 91.
Threbulgenis, ii. 377, 378.
Thunderton, i. 413; ii. 445; iv. 71, 595.
Tibarty, iii. 576, 577, 578; iv. 89, 91, 120, 650, 651, 653.
Tibberchindie, iv. 141, 143, 145, 423.
Tiburtaw, iv. 91.
Tifrie, ii. 445.
Tilecorthy, iii. 83, 84; iv. 25.
Tillechero, iv. 102, 103.
Tilledivye, iv. 598.
Tillery, i. 366, 367, 368, 370; iv. 25.
Tillichetlie, iv. 141, 146.
Tilliefroskie, i. 634; ii. 75, 78.
Tilliekeiries, iii. 158.
Tillieminnit, ii. 174.
Tillienaid, iii. 37.
Tillieronach, iii. 225.
Tilliesnaught, i. 634; ii. 75, 76.
Tillioch, ii. 438, 441.
Tilliquhilly, i. 78, 638; ii. 51.
Tillybyne, iv. 627.
Tillycairn, ii. 49.
Tillyeave, iv. 25.
Tillyfour, ii. 48, 49; iii. 439; iv. 218, 219, 255, 277, 278, 341, 342, 396, 404, 405, 419, 521, 522, 523, 525, 526, 739.
Tillygarmount, ii. 75.
Tillyilt, i. 334, 336, 340; iii. 59, 72.
Tillykerak, iv. 79.
Tiltie, i. 476.
Tippertie, i. 363, 364, 390; ii. 420, 429; iii. 158.
Tirepressy, iv. 378, 379, 380, 494, 537.
Tirriemyllane, iv. 543, 544.
Tirrievaill, iii. 427, 428.
Toberchenze, iv. 143.
Todlachy, ii. 49; iii. 504, 505.
Todlaw, ii. 311, 367.
Todlochy, iv. 481.
Toen, i. 171, 172; ii. 49.
Toirmoir, ii. 239.
Tolachavrych, iv. 715.
Tolacherene, ii. 109.
Toldow, iv. 538.
Tollas, iv. 435.
Tolleturnag, iv. 581.
Tollis, iii. 514, 516; iv. 69, 435, 438, 448.
Tollofraik, iv. 470.
Tollophin, iv. 316.
Tolmade, iii. 68, 243, 459, 514; iv. 341, 396, 401, 419.
Tolquhon, i. 22, 87, 116, 330, 332, 333, 335; iii. 13, 17, 18, 40, 41, 63, 64, 65, 66, 67, 208, 302, 335, 375, 551.
Tolyocre, iv. 715.
Tomads, ii. 5.
Tombeg, iii. 504, 505.
Tombellie, ii. 90, 91.
Tonley, i. 79, 596; iv. 146, 147.
Toringloise, iii. 504, 505.
Tornahaithneiche, iv. 470.
Tornavethyne, iv. 341, 396, 401, 419.

Torquhat, iv. 588.
Torrebreck, iv. 475.
Torrens, iv. 146, 147.
Torreys, iv. 521, 522, 525, 526.
Torrie, i. 254, 255, 259, 261, 262, 263, 515; iii. 247, 248, 249, 250, 252; iv. 111.
..... Burgum de, iii. 250.
..... in Udny, iii. 158.
Torryleith, iii. 85.
Tortarstoun, ii. 434; iv. 24, 69, 70, 71, 589, 590, 591, 592, 593, 594, 595.
Torwechty, ii. 447.
Touchter, iii. 434.
Tough, i. 596; iv. 146, 338, 339.
..... Parish of, i. 85, 217, 219, 223, 225, 226, 595-596; iii. 487; iv. 338-346, 396.
Toukishill, ii. 432.
Towchis, iv. 29, 47, 48, 557.
Towes, i. 471.
Towie, i. 79, 479, 611, 612; iii. 482.
..... Parish of, i. 85, 217, 219, 223, 225, 229, 611-612; iv. 426-449, 772-774.
..... Barclay, i. 21, 462, 463, 465, 466; iii. 15, 35, 38, 52, 64, 65, 70, 78, 89, 94, 105.
Towleyis, iii. 387, 395.
Towy, iv. 116, 447, 487, 488, 496, 497, 580, 581.
Trenechinen, i. 172.
Trewle Kirk, iv. 504.
Trostach, ii. 55, 56, 60.
Trotres Hill, iv. 317.
Troup, i. 18, 488, 489, 490, 491, 492; ii. 234, 366; iii. 116, 230, 540, 541; iv. 597, 626.
Troup, Capella de, i. 490; ii. 119, 120, 121, 122.
Truelfair, iv. 532, 533.
Tubirnamene, ii. 232.
Tuboinsby, i. 298; iii. 337.
Tucker, i. 475.
Tulach, iii. 262.
Tulachtarum, ii. 301, 303.
Tulbowry, i. 278.
Tuleskeuch, iv. 219, 227.
Tulibaglagh, i. 178.
Tuliboy, iii. 339, 340, 341, 342, 344, 345.
Tulibyn, iii. 117.
Tulicarne, i. 147; iv. 341, 366, 396, 419.
Tuliche in Cluny, iv. 341, 404, 419.
Tulichnobo, iii. 521; iv. 122.
Tulichule, ii. 109.
Tulicultry, iv. 697.
Tulideff, iv. 595, 674.
Tuligovnens, iii. 65, 315, 516.
Tulikery, ii. 48; iv. 341, 342, 396, 404, 405, 419.
Tulinaeboy, i. 298; iii. 337.
Tulischeyerit, i. 296.
Tulispik, iv. 227.
Tulivale, iii. 314.
Tullechere, iv. 649.
Tullery, iii. 35.
Tulleskyuche, iv. 475.
Tullachowrie, iii. 504, 505.
Tullachwyneys, iv. 341, 419.
Tulliboill, ii. 66.
Tullibralloch, i. 319; ii. 43, 44, 45; iii. 43.
Tullicartin, iii. 72.
Tullich, i. 650; iv. 499.
..... in Murthlac, ii. 255, 256.

Tullich, Parish of, i. 70, 73, 77, 85, 86, 131, 132, 133, 217, 219, 223, 225, 229, 639-640; ii. 80, 81.
Tullichery, iv. 512.
Tullichiddill, iii. 55, 56.
Tulliechellie, iv. 423.
Tulliedaff, iii. 71.
Tulliedask, iii. 25, 129.
Tulligonys, see Keithfield.
Tulligrig, i. 145, 339; iii. 77.
..... Chapel at, i. 357.
Tullilar, iii. 308.
Tullimaddin, i. 235.
Tullinathlak, see Tullich.
Tullinaught, ii. 132.
Tullinessil, i. 120, 143, 144, 154; iv. 379, 380.
..... Parish of, i. 85, 158, 215, 218, 221, 223, 225, 226, 228, 608, 628-630; iii. 395; iv. 536-544.
Tullioch, i. 187; iii. 183; iv. 21, 29, 557.
Tulliperne, iv. 255.
Tulliprany, iv. 218, 219, 277, 278, 739.
Tulliquhorsky, i. 147.
Tulliskeithe, iv. 255, 277.
Tullisniche, iv. 475.
Tulliwhill, see Ordequhill, Parish of.
Tullo, iii. 217, 218.
Tulloalloche, iv. 255.
Tulloch, i. 619; ii. 48; iv. 445, 446, 567.
..... of Nigg, iii. 252.
..... in Peterculter, iii. 345.
..... Dowy, iv. 465.
Tullochcoy, i. 641; ii. 85.
Tullochill, iv. 475.
Tullochs, iii. 71.
Tulloquhy, ii. 89, 91.
Tullos, i. 531, 537.
Tullyboyauchteran, ii. 367.
Tullykerath, ii. 395.
Tullymadich, iii. 83, 84.
Tulymald, i. 487; iii. 126, 127, 534, 535; iv. 382, 411, 412, 421, 422, 423, 771.
Tullymorgonne, i. 221; iv. 512.
Tullynamolt, ii. 378, 381; iv. 113, 388.
Tullyquhore, iv. 481.
Tullysnaucht, i. 147.
Tulochcosseny, iv. 378.
Tulquhorsy, ii. 314.
Tulyache, iii. 78, 79, 93; iv. 487.
Tulyangus, iv. 378, 487, 495, 765.
Tulydonne, iii. 407.
Tulykeraw, iv. 635, 636.
Tulymade in New Machar, iii. 202, 203.
Tulymar, iv. 341, 342, 396.
Tulynahilt, i. 319; ii. 43, 45; iii. 43.
Tulyreoche, iv. 341, 396, 401, 419.
Tulyschetir, i. 300.
Tumethe, ii. 264.
Tunmeth, see Dunmeth, Parish of.
Turf Slack, ii. 359.
Turnaluif, iii. 127.
Turnerhall, i. 307, 308.
Turnocht, iv. 580.
Turriff, i. 21, 34, 90, 120, 223, 465, 467; ii, 349, 350; iii. 37, 129, 160, 568.
..... Hospital of St. Congan at, i. 96, 460, 461, 467, 469, 470; ii. 337, 339, 340, 360; iii. 129.
..... Parish of, i. 93, 97, 158, 215, 218, 220, 222, 224, 228, 448, 460-473, 474, 562; ii. 121, 337-359, 375, 377; iii. 151, 158, 159, 160, 506-512.

Turruchd, iv. 117.
Twlchis, i. 118, 187; ii. 407, 408, 409, 432, 441; iv. 21, 23.
Tyftie, i. 333.
Tynot, i. 122; ii. 273.
Tyrebagger, Forest of, i. 86.
Tyrie, i. 112, 449, 450; ii. 383, 384, 390; iv. 84, 102, 103, 120, 649, 650, 653.
..... Parish of, i. 97, 216, 218, 220, 222, 224, 227, 228, 435, 449-451; ii. 383-384; iv. 122-124, 650, 652, 653, 680-682.
Tysfie, iv. 24.

UCHTERALLANE, see Auchterellon.
Uchterhouse, see Auchterhouse.
Uchtirleys, see Auchterless.
Uchtyrspiny, iv. 573.
Udach, i. 118, 463, 466, 472, 473, 474; ii. 358, 359; iii. 14, 159, 257, 408, 507, 508, 509, 510, 536, 554.
Udny, i. 22, 117, 312, 321, 343, 346, 357; iii. 79.
..... Chapel of, iii. 77.
..... Christ's Green at, i. 325, 326.
..... Parish of, i. 70, 97, 224, 357-360; iii. 77-88, 158.
Udochis, iv. 443, 751.
Une, see Oyne.
Upper Kinmundy, i. 412.
..... Ord, iv. 316.
..... Rosabard, iv. 547.
..... Torie, Chapel at, i. 255.
Urilhille, ii. 427.
Ury, iv. 632.
Uthaw, iii. 14, 257.
Utlaw, iii. 576, 577, 578; iv. 89, 91, 650, 651.
Uvertollache, iv. 481.

VAUS BIRNES, i. 119.
Vine, see Oyne.
Viridis Vicus, see Aberdeen, Green of.
Vrcewy, i. 172.
Vres, i. 200.

WALHOWS, iv. 141, 423.
Wallach, see Dunmeth, Parish of.
..... Well of St., i. 129; ii. 181, 182, 185.
Wallis, iv. 514.
Wantoun, iv. 514.
Warderis Flemyng, i. 113; iii. 376.
Wardhouse, i. 23, 90, 541, 554, 555; iii. 404, 405; iv. 522, 526, 663.
Wardres in Kintore, iii. 327, 328.
Warngham, i. 221.
Warrestoun, iv. 538, 539.
Wartle, i. 578; iii. 369, 374, 429, 438, 439, 454; iv. 522, 525, 526.
Waterside, iii. 350.
Waterton, i. 240, 241, 306, 308; iii. 27, 46.
Watishill of Ellon, iii. 37.
Wattisfauld, iv. 598.
Waulk Mylne, ii. 440; iv. 19, 514.
Wayne, Strype of, iii. 127.
Wedderburn, iii. 512, 520; iv. 566.
Wedder Lairs, iii. 67.
Weelstrype, iv. 39.
Weittis, iv. 514.
Weltona, i. 240, 241.
Weltoune, iii. 220.
Weschinpole, ii. 445.
Westburn, iii. 215.
Westbynnes, iv. 507, 512.
West Dronlaw, iii. 125.
Wester Allancoch, ii. 87, 91.
..... Auchquharnie, iii. 158.

Wester Beltie, ii. 5.
..... Camquhyle, ii. 38.
Westercaringusy, ii. 218.
Wester Cluin, i. 634; ii. 77.
..... Corse, i. 607.
..... Coul, ii. 26.
..... Cranokis, ii. 238.
..... Croylettis, ii. 238.
Westerdisblair, iv. 507.
Westerdrummelochy, iv. 314, 441.
Westeressyntoly, iii. 355, 357, 358.
Wester Fintray, iii. 227, 228, 424.
..... Foulis, i. 599; iii. 490, 497.
Westerhous, iii. 418.
Wester Kincraigie, i. 607.
..... Kinmundy, iii. 329.
..... Lochale, i. 606.
..... Maler, i. 595.
..... Mecraw, ii. 90, 91.
..... Muires, iii. 71.
..... Pitfodels, iii. 261, 264, 265, 269, 270, 271, 272, 275.
..... Rowis, iii. 477.
Westertochres, ii. 59.
Westertoun, i. 286, 287.
Westfeild, iii. 175, 369, 400; iv. 667, 668, 726.
Westhall, i. 120, 159, 536, 579, 844; iii. 188, 441; iv. 201, 202, 525, 526.
..... Capellania de, iii. 441, 442.
Westhills, iv. 423.
Westhous, iv. 413.
Wheytstryp, ii. 371.
Whitcarnis, iv. 22.
Whitecross, i. 530, 538; iii. 376.
Whitefeild, iv. 194.
Whitehaugh, i. 79, 629, 630; iv. 543.
Whitehill, i. 409.
Whitehillock of Arnage, iii. 25.
Whitehills, ii. 116.
Whitehouse, i. 640; ii. 8.
Whiterashes, iii. 159.
White Rigs, ii. 306.
Whitestones, ii. 443.
Whitmyres, i. 239.
Whytbogue, iv. 59.
Whyteburn, iii. 49.
Whytewall, iii. 389, 390, 474.
Whytley, iv. 316, 317.
Whytstanes, i. 405.
Windfauld, iii. 50.
Windhills, ii. 239.
Windiesey, iv. 423.
Williamstoun, iv. 507, 511.
Willings, The, iii. 242.
Wistrone, iv. 565, 566.
Wittinshill, iv. 578, 579.
Wodend, i. 504.
Wodfeild, iv. 320.
Wodtoun, iv. 580.
Woodhead of Fetterletter, i. 495.
..... in Dyce, iii. 226.
Woodheid of Laithers, iii. 564, 565.
Woodhill, iii. 388.
Woodland, i. 235; iii. 37, 225; iv. 309.
Woolaw, iii. 158.
Woudend of Fyvie, ii. 332, 333.
Wraes, iii. 159, 376; iv. 529.
Wranghame, iv. 507, 511.
Wykhorn, iv. 61.

Yarlside, iv. 160.
Yochry, ii. 211, 214, 215.
Yookishill, ii. 445; iii. 132; iv. 24.
Yrnside, iv. 22.
Ythan, Piscaria de, iii. 69, 102, 103, 105, 106, 110, 151, 158.
Ythsie, i. 329; iii. 63, 65, 67.
..... Chapel at, i. 330.

INDEX OF PERSONS.

Abell, John, i. 57, 58.
Aberbrothock, Abbot of, A, i. 293, 294, 565.
.... Bernard, i. 195, 197, 258, 259, 379, 511, 626; ii. 106, 395; iii. 57, 58, 212, 292, 293, 313, 317, 545, 547; iv. 612, 711, 760.
.... David, i. 261, 262, 351, 352, 422, 489, 497, 517, 518, 522; ii. 28, 29, 63, 64, 65, 66, 125, 126, 127, 128, 208, 209, 211; iii. 58, 247, 248, 251, 349; iv. 97.
.... Geoffrey, i. 269, 270; ii. 139.
.... George, i. 514, 515; ii. 61, 134, 135; iii. 59, 225, 247, 411, 507, 549; iv. 226.
.... Henry, i. 247, 626; ii. 301.
.... James Betoun, iii. 71, 72.
.... John, i. 258, 259, 342, 511, 521, 538; ii. 197, 313; iii. 73, 74.
.... Malcolm, i. 347, 348, 349, 497; ii. 124; iii. 59, 62, 178, 327; iv. 403, 405, 406.
Aberbrothock, Abbot of, Nicholas, i. 625.
.... Richard, i. 198, 199, 234, 260, 345; ii. 27; iv. 399.
.... Guthrie, iii. 62, 548.
.... Walter, i. 260, 269, 271, 338, 345, 346, 513; ii. 60, 139; iv. 393.
.... Paniter, i. 343; iii. 62.
.... William, i. 198, 258, 349, 350, 515; ii. 62.
..... Commendator of, George, iii. 154, 255, 539.
.... James Betoun, iv. 346.
.... John, Lord Hamilton, iii. 571.
Aberbuthnot, Duncanus de, ii. 55.
..... Robert of That Ilk, iii. 32.
Abercambri, Alexander, of Balquhane, i. 542, 543, 544.
Aberchirdir of That Ilk, ii. 189.
Abercromby of Birkenbog, i. 644.
..... of Glassaugh, i. 644; ii. 94.
..... Sir Alexander, iii. 58.
..... Alexander, iv. 175, 737.

Abercromby, Alexander de, de Ardoyne, iii. 443.
.... of Birkenbog, i. 527.
.... of Cubardy, i. 344.
.... of Fetterneir, i. 527.
.... de Pitmeddan, iii. 444, 445, 446, 447.
.... Vicar of Tarves, i. 335.
..... Andrew, iv. 280, 684.
..... David of, i. 540; iii. 470.
..... Elizabeth, iv. 463.
..... Francis of Fetterneir, i. 528.
..... George, iv. 280.
..... George, de Pitmeddan, iii. 446, 447, 538, 561.
..... Hector, i. 527.
..... Sir Francis of Birkenbog, ii. 95.
..... James, fiar of Persie, iv. 450.
..... de Petmathen, iii. 442.
..... John of, iii. 443; iv. 175, 753.
.... Minister at Oyne and Premnay, i. 228.
..... Patrick, M.D., i. 528.
..... Umfredus, i. 514.
.... de, de Pitmeddan, iii. 444.
..... Wilhelmus, Canonicus, ii. 250.
..... William, Exhorter at Dunmeith, ii. 152.
.... de Petmathen, iii. 441, 442.
Aberdeen, Archdeacon of, James Erskine, iii. 400.
.... John Barbour, i. 577; iv. 378.
.... Lawrence Pyot, ii. 344; iii. 356, 397, 585.
.... M., ii. 21.
Aberdeen, Archdeacon of, Malcallanus, ii. 17, 20.
.... Malcolm, i. 292, 293, 565, 566; ii. 72, 122, 123, 153.
.... Omerus, i. 292, 564; ii. 18, 21, 121; iii. 177.
.... Simon, i. 154, 247, 292, 293, 564, 624; ii. 120.
.... Thomas de Tynningham, i. 145; ii. 380, 381; iii. 317; iv. 389.
.... William Crawford, iv. 118.
..... Bishop of, Adam Bellenden, i. 167.
.... Crail, i. 161, 490, 564, 566, 589; ii. 18, 20, 121, 122, 123, 337, 392, 397.
.... Tynningham, i. 163, 352; ii. 400; iii. 197, 210, 351; iv. 378, 379, 727.
.... Alexander Burnett, i. 168.
.... Forbes, i. 166.
.... Gordon, i. 164, 563.
.... Kinninmund I., i. 158, 163, 335; ii. 313; iii. 45, 289; iv. 73.
.... II., i. 148, 149, 158, 163, 434, 538, 548; ii. 37, 101, 385; iii. 89, 197, 210, 289, 543; iv. 148, 156, 159, 374, 460, 536, 712, 713, 716.
.... David Cunningham, i. 166; ii. 349.
.... Mitchell, i. 167.
.... Edward, i. 144, 145; ii. 16; iii. 168, 198, 205, 209, 210, 428, 454, 560; iv. 460, 486, 536.

Aberdeen, Bishop of, Gavin Dunbar, i. 29, 78, 142, 149, 150, 155, 156, 160, 165, 200, 201, 622, 655; ii. 232, 398; iii. 49, 55, 79, 81, 110, 104, 220, 225, 338, 473, 507; iv. 486.
.... George Halyburton, i. 168, 254, 264, 405, 475; iii. 50.
.... Gilbert Greenlaw, i. 147, 158, 163, 290, 448, 492, 500, 502, 503, 540; ii. 36, 140, 162, 227, 264, 314, 351, 375, 376, 377, 379; iii. 96, 231, 351, 363, 471; iv. 87, 164, 172, 178, 179, 372, 378, 382, 383, 452, 453, 458, 494, 541.
.... Stirling, i. 161, 292, 527, 565, 566, 619; ii. 21, 86, 121, 122, 123, 138, 139; iv. 451.
.... Henry Cheyne, i. 79, 138, 148, 150, 154, 158, 162, 194, 195, 304, 312, 334, 340, 342, 627; ii. 37, 312, 392; iii. 3, 57, 463, 544; iv. 81, 113, 371, 607, 612, 703,704, 705, 707.
.... Leighton, i. 145, 150, 158, 163, 327; ii. 381; iii. 162, 210, 316, 317, 351, 423; iv. 191, 389, 394, 454, 537, 538.
.... Hugh Benham, i. 161, 236, 258, 467, 469.
.... Ingelram Lindsay, i. 149, 158, 159, 164, 215; ii. 27; iii. 77, 289, 318, 441; iv. 197, 201, 725.
.... John, i. 160, 173, 247, 352, 490, 588, 603; ii. 120, 121, 122, 123, 327, 360, 373; iv. 467, 693.
Aberdeen, Bishop of, John Rait, i. 163.
.... Matthew Kinninmund, i. 146, 147, 148, 153, 154, 160, 256, 292, 352, 489, 496, 547, 564, 566, 624; ii. 16, 20, 27, 119, 121, 122, 123, 234, 360, 363, 373; iii. 3, 162, 253, 369, 428, 441; iv. 486, 491, 692, 693, 695.
.... Patrick Forbes, i. 64, 167, 238, 358, 409, 411, 431, 599, 600, 601, 607; ii. 243, 391, 392; iv. 136, 137, 139, 360, 364.
.... Scougal, i. 138, 150, 168, 235, 655.
.... Peter Blackburn, i. 166; iv. 146.
.... Ramsay, i. 157, 161, 235, 339, 340, 603, 657; iii. 119, 313.
.... Ralph Lambley, i. 147, 161, 293, 565, 566, 567, 568, 633; ii. 22, 23, 123; iii. 369.
.... Richard Pottock, i. 141, 158, 161, 372, 561, 568; ii. 337, 394; iii. 429; iv. 460.
.... Robert Blacader, i. 164.
.... Thomas Spence, i. 149, 159, 164, 283; ii. 344; iii. 115, 180, 223, 224, 232, 233, 241, 327, 351, 369, 417, 472; iv. 63, 401, 403, 405, 406, 449, 593.
.... William Dean, i. 163; iii. 444.
.... Elphinstone, i. 28, 78, 149, 150, 151, 159, 164, 167, 201, 210, 263, 278, 504, 552,

563, 582, 653; ii. 63, 78, 79, 80, 94, 126, 145, 211, 264, 316, 317, 339, 347, 362, 398; iii. 15, 55, 58, 69, 79, 81, 102, 104, 113, 130, 161, 162, 163, 164, 165, 170, 178, 220, 225, 233, 234, 240, 275, 334, 348, 349, 351, 352, 353, 371, 398, 420, 431, 432, 433, 465, 473, 480, 507, 508, 515, 543, 580, 583; iv. 36, 47, 64, 134, 215, 222, 224, 226, 358, 409, 443, 451, 464, 489, 521.

Aberdeen, Bishop of, William Gordon, i. 165, 628, 656; ii. 262; iii. 85, 86, 198, 205, 206, 207, 253, 255, 351, 352, 353, 354, 377, 381, 433, 435, 442, 443, 457, 467; iv. 371, 488, 490, 491, 492, 494, 496, 497, 525, 527, 538, 658, 669.

.... Stewart, i. 149, 150, 157, 165, 210, 309, 655; iii. 429, 430, 469, 494, 495; iv. 335, 489.

..... Bishop Coadjutor of, George Prior of Pluscarty, i. 622.

..... Chancellor of, Alexander Inglis, iv. 106, 168, 407.

.... Ross, ii. 43.

.... Seytoune, i. 628.

.... Duncan Leighton, iii. 168, 317.

.... Petit, ii. 381; iv. 389.

.... Hugh de Bennum, i. 568.

.... John Reid, ii. 447.

..... Dean of, Alexander, i. 292, 561, 564; ii. 18, 21, 121, 122, 153; iii. 178.

.... Freskyn de Cheyne, iv. 607.

Aberdeen, Dean of, James Brown, iii. 258.

.... Kincragy, iv. 97.

.... Patrick Spalding, iv. 467, 468.

.... Richard Forbes, ii. 163; iii. 113, 474, 528, 578; iv. 331, 736.

.... Robert, i. 154, 247, 292, 293, 566, 568; ii. 120, 123; iii. 177.

.... Erskine, ii. 348; iii. 182, 354, 443.

.... Maitland, iii. 161.

.... Roger, i. 292; ii. 120.

.... Walter de Covingtre, iv. 159, 374.

..... Precentor of, Archibald Lindsay, ii. 393; iii. 15.

.... Henry Harvey, iii. 178, 318.

.... Jordanus, i. 566; ii. 123.

.... Roger of Derbi, i. 568.

.... Simon de Etale, iii. 26.

.... William Crawford, ii. 380, 381; iv. 389.

..... Treasurer of, Andrew Bell, iii. 529.

.... Lyell, iii. 258, 273, 346; iv. 736.

.... Patrick Myreton, iii. 86, 206, 255, 352, 381, 435.

.... Robert Elphinstone, iii. 484.

.... William, i. 292, 566; ii. 122, 123.

..... Earl of, George, i. 87.

Aberdeen, Earl of, William, i. 414.
..... David of, Vicar of Ellon, i. 455; iii. 3.
..... Gilbertus filius Gocelini de, ii. 120, 121.
..... Hugo de, clericus, i. 232.
..... Frater Hugo de, ii. 247.
..... Matheus de, clericus Willelmi Regis, i. 247.
..... Persona de, Willelmus, ii. 120, 121.
..... Frater Radulphus de, ii. 247.
..... Robertus de, ii. 247.
Aberdour, Alexander, i. 518; iv. 131.
.... Notarius, iii. 560.
..... William, iii. 299; iv. 82, 92.
Aberkerdor, David of, ii. 220; iv. 468.
..... Johannes de, ii. 207, 388.
.... Vicarius de Elgin, ii. 220.
..... Vosualdus de, ii. 220.
..... Walter of, ii. 220.
..... Willelmus de, ii. 217, 220.
Abernethy, of Saltoun, ii. 225.
..... Sir Alexander de, ii. 313.
..... Alexander, ii. 230.
.... de Nathirdaill, ii. 229.
..... Andrew, iii. 192.
..... George, ii. 211, 212.
..... Henricus de, i. 408; ii. 303.
..... Hugo de, iv. 697.
..... James, ii. 228.
.... Reader at Inverkeithny, ii. 151.
..... Johannes de, Miles, i. 288; iv. 114.
Abernethy, John, i. 556; ii. 426; iii. 416; iv. 657, 725.
.... of Kyncelti, iii. 334.
..... Lancelote de, i. 514; iii. 8, 326; iv. 193.
..... Laurencius de, i. 258; iii. 177.
.... de Rothemay, Miles, ii. 228.
..... Willelmus de, de Saltoun, Miles, ii. 227.
..... William, i. 282; ii. 159, 230, 359; iii. 4; iv. 403, 405, 406, 697.
Aboyne, Earl of, Charles, i. 37, 634; ii. 32.
.... John, i. 37, 634.
Abraham, Magister, iii. 5.
Achenbruc, Willelmus de, ii. 286.
Achres, Neuynus de, Nativus, i. 477.
Ada, Comitissa, uxor Henrici Comitis, i. 246; ii. 19, 20; iv. 691, 692.
Adam, Clericus David de Strathbolgyn, ii. 158.
.... de Helon, ii. 17, 20.
..... Filius Adami, i. 196.
.... Angusii, ii. 38.
.... Comitis Fergusii, ii. 427, 428.
.... Cospatric, ii. 286.
.... Riccehrin, ii. 15.
.... Roberti, ii. 287.
..... Frater, ii. 286.
..... Frater Comitis, i. 409.
..... Johannes de, ii. 12.
..... Mac Ferdomnac, iv. 550.
..... Nepos Matthei Episcopi Aberdonensis, i. 564.
..... Senescallus Abbatis de Aberbrothock, iii. 178.

Adam, Subdecanus Moraviensis, ii. 170, 280, 304.
Adamnan, St., i. 388, 508, 509, 633; iii. 129.
Adamson, Alexander, ii. 12.
..... George, iv. 471, 782.
..... John, iv. 496.
.... Prior of Dominican Monastery at Aberdeen, i. 201; ii. 236.
..... Patricius, Burgensis de Aberdeen, iii. 358.
..... Thomas, ii. 432.
..... Willelmus, iv. 98.
Addun, Frater Ricardus de, ii. 247.
.... Robertus de, ii. 267.
Ade, Johannes, iv. 198.
Admowty, Henry, iii. 516.
Aelles, Nicolaus de, i. 547.
Agnew, Patricius, Miles, iv. 597.
Agno, W., Officialis Moraviensis, ii. 286.
Aikenheid, James, Advocate, iv. 590.
..... John, see Monymusk, Prior of.
Alani, Johannes, iv. 381.
Alanson, Andrew, Provost of Aberdeen, iii. 143, 144, 145, 178, 274.
..... Andro, i. 573.
..... Frater Johannes, Minister domus Trinitatis de Aberdeen, iii. 194.
..... Georgius, Notarius, iii. 346.
..... Jacobus, iii. 499.
..... Robertus, iii. 262.
..... Thomas, iii. 499.
Alanus, Canonicus de Aberdeen, i. 565; ii. 18, 21.
Alanus, Capellanus Willelmi Comitis de Buchan, i. 561.
..... Filius Hugonis, i. 547.
.... Huting Senescallus de Buchan, i. 455.
.... Rolandi, Constabularius, ii. 138.
.... Walteri, Dapifer, i. 496.
..... Monachus de Aberbrothock, i. 565, 566.
Albany, Duke of, Alexander, i. 608; iii. 522; iv. 213, 214, 356, 472, 473.
.... John, iii. 16, 110, 184; iv. 319, 529.
.... Murdoch, iii. 587; iv. 181, 182, 386.
.... Robert, i. 233, 290, 316, 343, 390, 471, 478, 491, 499, 503, 605; ii. 30, 31, 35, 44, 67, 85, 99, 102, 140, 161, 227, 264, 294, 314, 380; iii. 95, 133, 134, 141, 165, 181, 201, 230, 296, 297, 363; iv. 84, 114, 161, 164, 172, 178, 204, 319, 376, 381, 451, 458, 642, 644, 732.
Albinus, capellanus, iv. 693.
Alesone, Johannes, Notary Public, ii. 45.
Alexander I., King of Scots, i. 635; iv. 691.
..... II., King of Scots, i. 86, 88, 146, 147, 201, 257, 268, 291, 295, 298, 336, 341, 465, 490, 548, 561, 566, 603, 604, 609; ii. 16, 56, 109, 128, 136, 138, 142, 143, 155, 233, 247, 272, 283, 284, 326, 365, 398, 410; iii. 113, 177, 337, 341, 369; iv. 73, 74, 694, 695, 697.

Alexander III., King of Scots, i. 88, 162, 196, 249, 286, 303, 323, 340, 341, 467, 470, 609, 631; ii. 318, 326, 363; iii. 546, 560; iv. 305, 372, 599, 600, 605, 608, 696, 697.
..... Alexander, Minister at Glass, ii. 185.
..... Burgensis Sancti Andree, ii. 72.
..... Filius Thomae, iv. 695.
..... Filius Walteri, Senescallus, i. 548.
.... Willelmi, filii Thori, ii. 42.
..... Frater Bricii Episcopi Moraviensis, ii. 191, 192.
..... Gulielmus, de Menstrie, iv. 528.
..... Monachus de Deir, i. 186.
..... Vicecomes de Clacmannan, ii. 42.
.... de Elgyn, ii. 144, 155, 158, 282, 283, 304.
.... de Strivelin, i. 566.
Alexanderson, Alexander, iv. 625.
..... Donald, iv. 625.
..... Finlai, iv. 625.
..... John, i. 464.
..... Robert, iv. 131.
..... Thomas, Armiger, iii. 554.
Alexandri, Andreas, iii. 451.
..... David, iii. 150.
..... Johannes, iv. 461.
..... Thomas, iii. 149.
Alfornus Filius Normanni, Constabularius, i. 547, 548.
Algune, Mac Arcill, iv. 548.
Aliat, David, ii. 237, 365.
Allan Griseall, ii. 171.
Allan, William, ii. 172; iv. 740.
Allardice of Auchterless, iii. 561.
..... Alexander, iii. 45.
..... Jacobus, de eodem, iii. 87.
..... Sir James, Provost of Our Lady Kirk of the Heuch, iii. 213.
..... Joanna, iii. 87.
..... Johannes, iii. 547; iv. 735.
.... de, Miles, iii. 263.
.... Notarius, iii. 154.
..... John, of That Ilk, ii. 366; iii. 32, 34, 303, 560.
..... Robert, of Badinschot, ii. 366.
.... Dean of Garioch, iv. 488.
.... Reader at Auchterless, i. 229.
.... Robertus, Frater Johannis Allardice de eodem, ii. 335.
.... Vicarius de Auchterless, iii. 457.
..... Thomas de, i. 514; iii. 334; iv. 188, 261.
.... de eodem, i. 282; iv. 206, 212, 257.
Allasone, Jacobus, Vicarius de Belhelvie, iv. 531.
Alschinder, Robert, iii. 422.
Alwinus filius Archill, ii. 129.
Anderson of Aradoul, i. 649.
..... Adam, i. 573.
..... Alexander, Minister of Boharm, ii. 276.
.... Prebendarius de Meithlik, iii. 86, 255, 381.
.... Principal of King's College, i. 320, 573.
..... Frater Alexander, iii. 169.

Anderson, Andreas, Burgensis de Aberdeen, iii. 507.
.... Monachus de Aberbrothock, ii. 128.
..... Arthur, Notary, ii. 184; iv. 280.
..... David, iii. 402; iv. 42, 97, 147, 416.
.... (Davie do all things), i. 55.
.... Ballivus de Aberdeen, i. 190.
.... Burgensis de Aberdeen, iii. 358.
.... Professor of Theology, King's College, i. 370.
.... Sacellanus, iv. 457.
.... Scriba Signeto Regio, iii. 387.
..... Frater David, Prior Fratrum Predicatorum de Aberdeen, iii. 169.
..... Duncan, iv. 496.
..... George, ii. 184.
.... Vicar of Innerowry, i. 582.
..... Johannes de Pitfour, iii. 41.
.... Vicarius de Botary, iii. 68.
..... Sir John, ii. 238.
..... John, ii. 431, 433; iii. 251; iv. 42, 43, 44, 45, 488, 541, 741.
.... Burgess of Aberdeen, ii. 431; iii. 216, 507.
..... Patricius, Canonicus de Monymusk, iii. 489, 493.
.... Clericus deputatus de Rayne, iii. 431.
..... Patrick, i. 382.
..... Robert, iv. 43, 488, 591, 688.
Anderson, Robert, Notary, iv. 635.
.... Tenant of Mekle Crage, i. 302.
..... Robertus, Burgensis de Aberdeen, iii. 216.
..... Thomas, iv. 742.
.... Burgensis de Aberdeen, iii. 216.
..... Willelmus, Curatus de Inchis, iii. 402.
.... Scriba curie vicecomitatus de Aberdeen, i. 121.
..... William, Burgess of Kildrummy, iv. 741.
Anderstoun, Sir John of, see Fyvie, Prior of.
Andreas, Canonicus Moraviensis, ii. 288.
..... Capellanus, ii. 120.
.... Mathei Episcopi Aberdonensis, i. 292.
..... Clericus Andree Episcopi Moraviensis, ii. 193, 282.
.... Radulfi Episcopi Aberdonensis, i. 568; ii. 124.
..... Filius Valteri, i. 197.
..... Magister, i. 221.
..... Presbyter de Brechyn, ii. 302.
..... Vicarius de Botarrie, ii. 133.
Andree, Duncanus, i. 350, 351.
..... Jacobus, iv. 347.
..... Johannes, iv. 347.
..... Margareta, iv. 347.
..... Walterus, iv. 331.
..... Willelmus, i. 350, 351.
Andrew, Canon of Aberlour, ii. 291.
..... Persona de Philorth, ii. 385.
Andro, Johannes, Clericus concilii, iii. 173.

Andrus, David de, i. 548.
Angousone, Thomas, iv. 488, 496.
Angus, Earl of, Archibald, i. 67, 263; ii. 211, 316; iii. 165, 213, 357, 358, 522; iv. 415.
.... George, iv. 77, 166, 201, 729.
.... Ggillebrite, iv. 550.
.... Gilbert de Umfraville, iv. 704.
.... James, iv. 397, 398.
.... Thomas Stewart, iv. 160, 715, 723, 724, 752.
.... William, iii. 571; iv. 391, 392.
.... de Douglas, iv. 84, 387, 388.
..... and Caithness, Earl of, M., ii. 136, 284.
..... and Marr, Countess of, Margaret, iv. 161, 733.
Angus, David, iv. 123.
..... Elena, iv. 347.
..... Frater Serlo, ii. 247.
..... Johannes de, iii. 263.
..... Willelmus de, iii. 263.
Annand of Ochterellon, i. 307.
..... Alexander, iv. 555.
.... de Ochterellon, iii. 28, 42, 52, 66, 80, 421.
..... David de Ochterellon, i. 307; iii. 27.
..... Dominus David de, iii. 132.
..... Henricus, de Ochterellon, iii. 41, 42, 52, 340, 551, 563; iv. 78, 92.
..... Jacobus, iii. 118, 119; iv. 555.
.... Notarius, iv. 31, 32.
Annand, Johannes, Capellanus Moraviensis, ii. 188.
..... Thomas of Ochterellon, i. 114; ii. 157; iii. 17, 18; iv. 624.
.... Notarius, iv. 596.
.... Presbyter Aberdonensis Diocesis, ii. 336.
..... William, Minister of Bellie, ii. 268.
Annandia, Alexander filius David de, ii. 43.
..... David de, Miles, iv. 718.
..... Dominus David de, ii. 43.
Anne of Denmark, Queen of James VI., i. 96.
Arbuthnot, Viscount of, John, i. 656.
..... Alexander, of Caringall, i. 413.
.... Principal of King's College, i. 227, 361.
..... Andrew, of Broadland, i. 425.
..... Captain Andrew, iii. 280, 282.
..... David, de Fyndowrie, iv. 356.
..... Georgius, iv. 356.
..... Hew, of that Ilk, iii. 269.
..... John, iii. 129, 130, 131, 132.
.... of Carnegall, ii. 445.
..... Robert, of That Ilk, i. 656; iii. 541; iv. 35.
.... of Fyndowrie, iv. 354.
.... of Scotsmill, i. 420.
Archangel, Father, see Leslie, George.
Arches, Herbertus de, i. 547.
Archibald, Johannes, ii. 365.
Archibaldi, Willelmus, Scutifer, i. 343.
Archibaldus, Capellanus Andree Episcopi Moraviensis, ii. 286.
..... Senescallus Bricii, Episcopi Moraviensis, ii. 191.

Ard, Alexander de, ii. 305; iv. 376.
..... Andrew, of That Ilk, ii. 221.
..... Christinus de, Miles, ii. 106.
..... Johannes de, Succentor Moraviensis, ii. 207; iv. 375.
..... Margareta de, Domina ejusdem, iv. 377, 378.
.... de, Domina de Ercles, i. 478, 479, 480; iii. 121; iv. 434, 435.
Ardbeky, Alexander, de eodem, i. 576.
Ardes, Malcolmus, i. 506.
Arduchri, Johannes, filius Ricardi de, i. 381.
Argyle, Bishop of, David Hamilton, iii. 104, 185.
.... George Lauder, i. 285; iv. 200.
.... Robert Colquhoun, iii. 522.
..... Earl of, Archibald, i. 504, 552; ii. 347, 362, 366; iii. 36, 55, 69, 79, 81, 104, 164, 195, 213, 220, 225, 349, 351, 473, 507; iv. 36, 47, 97, 134, 223, 224, 226, 464, 490.
.... Colin, i. 487; ii. 315; iii. 51, 102, 110, 115, 164, 180, 224, 232, 273, 275, 314, 347, 348, 357, 358, 398, 417, 511, 515, 522, 528, 580; iv. 63, 106, 215, 518, 593.
Armourchane, Makane de, i. 458.
Armstrong, Gilbertus, Canonicus Aberdonensis, iv. 752.
.... Moraviensis, ii. 10.
Arnet, Colonel, iii. 282.
Arnot, John, of That Ilk, ii. 179.
Arnot, John, Vicar of Fivy, iii. 549.
Arous, John, see Glasgow, Archdeacon of.
Arran, Earl of, James, i. 113; iii. 185, 195; iv. 552, 553, 770.
Arrat, David, Burgensis de Aberdeen, iii. 216.
Arrot, David, Reader at Kilbethok, i. 229.
Arthur, Prince of Scotland, iv. 225.
Arthur, Gilbertus, i. 260.
..... Johannes, iv. 100.
..... William, iii. 346.
Aston, Willelmus de, Canonicus Moraviensis, ii. 287.
Atheray, Johannes de, Presbyter Dunblanensis, iv. 200.
Athol, Earl of, Alan Durward, i. 86, 337; ii. 56.
.... David, i. 342; iii. 211.
.... de Strathbogie, ii. 159, 160, 259, 304; iv. 713.
.... Henry, ii. 259.
.... J., i. 340.
.... John, i. 608; ii. 259, 260, 265, 312; iii. 522; iv. 77, 214, 234, 346, 357, 711, 712, 747.
.... Stewart, i. 165; ii. 257.
.... John de Strathbogie, ii. 259.
.... Walter Stewart, i. 555; iii. 231.
..... and Caithness, Earl of, Walter, ii. 162; iv. 387.
..... Master of, John, ii. 265, 266.
..... Countess of, Isabella, iv. 712.
.... Marjory, ii. 312, 313; iv. 712.

Athra, Johannes, Notarius, iv. 202.
Atkin, Alexander, iv. 738.
Atkinson, John, i. 541.
..... Thomas, Capellanus, iii. 203.
.... Notarius, iv. 108.
Aton, Willelmus de, ii. 303.
Auchanyowche, Johannes, ii. 228.
Auchinleck of Balmanno, i. 532.
..... George, of Balmanno, iii. 173, 174; iv. 668.
.... of Pitrichie, iii. 86.
..... Jacobus de, Miles, iii. 121.
..... Mr., Minister of Fraserburgh, i. 402.
..... William, iv. 668.
.... Chaplain, iii. 146, 369.
.... Parson of Kynkel, i. 573.
.... of Schery, iii. 20.
.... of Schethin, iii. 129; iv. 667.
Auchleck, Alexander, ii. 326.
Auchneive, Walterus, Burgensis de Aberdeen, iii. 41, 46.
Auchterlony, William, of Kelly, iv. 196.
Audelee, Dominus Adam de, i. 624.
Augustini, Frater Benedictus, ii. 247.
Augustinus, Serviens Andree Episcopi Moraviensis, ii. 169.
..... Thomas, Turraviensis, i. 461.
Aurifaber, Johannes, ii. 199.
Austean, Thomas, ii. 358, 359.
Avondale, Lord, Andrew, ii. 315, 355; iii. 98, 102, 115, 180, 224, 232, 241, 273, 275, 314, 327, 347, 348, 417, 472, 511, 522, 528, 579; iv. 63, 77, 106, 215, 593.
Avenel, G., ii. 301.
..... Gervase, i. 336; ii. 398.
Avenel, Gilbert, ii. 398.
..... R., i. 258.
..... Robertus, Justicarius, ii. 16.
..... Rogerus, iv. 698.
Awaill, Johannes, Capellanus, iii. 392.
Aytoun, Andrew, iv. 247, 273, 307.
.... of Kinglassie, iv. 310.
..... James, of Grange, iv. 310.

Bad, Frater Alexander, ii. 238.
..... Johannes, Monachus de Aberbrothock, ii. 128.
..... Ricardus, ii. 364.
..... Willelmus, ii. 365.
Badenach, Dominus de, Alexander Senescallus, iii. 521.
..... John, iii. 539.
.... Notary, iii. 438; iv. 405.
.... Vicar of Gamrie, iii. 358.
..... Patricius, i. 283; iii. 11.
.... Burgensis de Aberdeen, i. 457; iii. 274.
Bailye, Bernardus, Rector de Lammyntoun, iii. 251.
..... Johannes, Capitaneus de Auchindown, ii. 261.
..... William, of Ardnele, ii. 248, 249.
Baird of Auchmedden, i. 109, 444, 447.
..... of Newbyth, i. 71.
..... Andrew, of Levioklaw, ii. 380, 381.
..... George, of Auchmedden, ii. 381; iii. 542; iv. 121, 673.
..... Gilbertus, de Auchmedden, iv. 678.
..... Johannes, Scriba Signeto Regio, iii. 387.

Baird, William, iv. 100.
..... William, of Auchmedden, i. 445, 446.
.... of Ordinhuff, iii. 584.
Balbryny, Johannes de, Miles, iii. 262.
Balcolmy, Sir Archibald, iii. 58.
..... Archibald, Vicar of Tarves, i. 335.
Balconkall, Walterus, iii. 8.
Balcrummy, Johannes, Burgensis de Aberdeen, iii. 184.
Baldewy, Alexander, de eodem, i. 516.
Baldowy, Frater Walterus, iii. 251.
Balduenus Clericus, i. 154.
Balduvy, Thomas, Capellanus, ii. 135.
Balfour, David, iv. 683.
..... Jacobus, Subdecanus Brechinensis, iii. 511.
..... John, ii. 317.
..... Martinus, Officialis Sancti Andree, ii. 447.
Balgony, Lord, Robert, iii. 138.
Balgray, John, Notary, iv. 578, 579.
Balhelvy, Elizabeth, Domina de, i. 380.
Balkancoll, Walterus de, Notarius, iii. 184.
Balkarne, Adam of, iv. 384.
Balkath, Rogerus de, iii. 178.
Ballingall, William, Reader and Vicar at Inche, i. 230.
Balliol, John, King of Scots, iv. 605, 606, 701.
..... Sir John, Lord of Galloway, iv. 602.
..... Alexander de, Camerarius Scotiæ, iv. 75.
..... Edward, iv. 152, 153, 710, 713, 714.
..... Eustachius de, i. 269.
Balliol, Henricus de, Canonicus, ii. 138.
..... Ingeram de, Vicecomes de Berwyke, ii. 138.
..... Thomas de, iv. 159, 160, 374.
Ballmallyne, Johannes de, iv. 468.
Balloch, Donald, of the Isles, iv. 186.
Balnacrag, Angus de, iv. 378.
Balnavis, Henry, iv. 683.
Balrony, Robertus, Burgensis de Aberdeen, iii. 272.
..... Stephanus, Burgensis de Aberdeen, iii. 272.
Balvenie, Lord, John, ii. 257.
Balwery, Ricardus de, Miles, iv. 752.
Balye, Thomas, Prior Fratrum Predicatorum de Aberdeen, iii. 145.
Banff, Lord, George, i. 509, 645; ii. 112, 113.
.... John George, i. 645.
Bannatyne, James, i. 385.
.... Notary, iv. 683.
..... Johannes, Clericus, Apostolicus et Imperialis Notarius, iv. 97.
..... Walterus, i. 171.
Bannerman of Elsick, i. 71, 264.
..... Alexander, i. 392; ii. 429; iii. 27, 180, 210.
.... Capellanus, i. 395.
.... de Waterton, i. 111, 115, 290, 313, 314, 315; ii. 12; iii. 14, 28, 29, 30, 33, 42, 48, 52, 53, 64, 65, 69, 78, 89, 103, 105, 149, 151, 192, 227, 256, 260, 276, 305, 334, 335, 340, 341, 383, 384, 418, 420, 446, 448, 449, 450, 516, 519, 533, 551, 553, 561, 563, 589, 592; iv. 37, 40, 46, 50, 60, 94, 111, 442, 624, 762, 769.

Bannerman, Alexander, Burgess of Aberdeen, iii. 295; iv. 642.
..... David, iii. 263.
..... Donald, de Balmacasy, iii. 48, 149.
..... Dovinaldus, Medicus David II., i. 240; iii. 210.
..... Edmund, Burgess of Aberdeen, iii. 145, 179.
..... George, of Waterton, iii. 30, 556.
..... Henry, of Waterton, iii. 28; iv. 656.
..... Ingeramus, Capellanus, iii. 586.
..... James, Minister of Inveravon, ii. 294.
..... John, i. 394; iii. 179.
.... of Alsick, i. 307; iii. 7, 178, 179, 180.
.... of Bogfarlay, iii. 215.
.... of Waterton, iii. 178.
.... elder, i. 394.
..... Patrick, of Balmacasy, iii. 48.
..... Thomas, i. 303.
..... Simon, ii. 382; iii. 334; iv. 124, 125, 389.
.... de Alesik, iii. 27, 96, 97.
.... de Balmacasy, i. 307; iii. 27.
Bannestar, Thomas, iv. 108.
Banton, Johannes, iv. 347.
Barbar, Alexander, see Caithness, Archdeacon of.
..... William, iv. 378.
Barbas, Alexander, Chaplain, iv. 615.
..... Andrew, Chaplain, ii. 400.
Barbour, John, see Aberdeen, Archdeacon of.
Barbour, Robert, Burgess of Aberdeen, iii. 222.
Barcar, John, iii. 428.
..... Patrick, Chaplain, iii. 507.
..... Ricardus, Monachus de Lundoris, iii. 394, 410.
Barclay de Tolly, Prince, i. 462.
..... of Towie, i. 18, 462, 465, 489.
..... Adam, Minister of Alford, iv. 137, 139.
..... Alexander of, ii. 72; iii. 263, 416; iv. 725, 726.
..... Sir Alexander, of Towie, i. 466.
..... Alexander, de Grantuly, ii. 372; iii. 166, 167.
.... de Kerko, i. 290.
.... of Matheris, ii. 102, 103; iii. 585.
..... Andrew, i. 491; iii. 554.
.... of Grantuly, ii. 175, 367; iii. 539; iv. 720, 721, 722.
..... David, i. 516; ii. 227, 264, 314; iii. 292, 313; iv. 179.
.... de, Miles, ii. 218.
.... de Durna, i. 605; ii. 103.
.... of Mernys, iii. 320.
..... George, iv. 478.
.... of That Ilk, ii. 173, 188, 251.
.... of Auchrody, i. 462.
.... of Matheris, i. 282.
.... Burgess of Aberdeen, iv. 578, 647, 684.
.... Notary, iii. 86, 198.
..... Hugo de, Miles, i. 286, 287.
..... James, iii. 220; iv. 469.

Barclay, James, of Kynnaroquhy, ii. 366.
..... John, i. 82; ii. 175; iii. 539; iv. 721.
.... of Crawford, iii. 83.
.... of Garintully, i. 618.
.... Towie, i. 462; ii. 328, 367, 368.
.... Minister at Cruden, i. 52.
..... Minister at Alford, iv. 141.
..... Patrick, ii. 368.
.... of Auchredie, iii. 50.
.... of Grantuly, i. 321; ii. 133, 175; iii. 15, 64, 70, 105, 302, 305, 446, 514, 515, 516, 538; iv. 78, 94, 343, 439.
.... of Towie, i. 462; ii. 366, 369, 370, 371; iii. 541, 542; iv. 580, 581.
..... Walter, i. 286, 491, 514, 624; ii. 332, 367, 368; iii. 334; iv. 188.
.... of, Knight, i. 340.
.... of That Ilk, ii. 366; iv. 581.
.... of Drumdelgie, ii. 173.
.... of Garintully, iii. 412.
.... of Kerko, i. 462.
.... of Kynnaroquhy, iii. 35, 37; iv. 478.
.... of Newtown, ii. 173.
.... of Towie, i. 282, 315, 321; ii. 12, 211, 212, 213, 333, 368, 369, 370, 371; iii. 15, 35, 38, 52, 64, 65, 70, 78, 89, 94, 105, 126, 151, 154, 170, 257, 259, 276, 303, 305, 315, 375, 383, 408, 418, 420, 437, 448, 449, 536, 542, 554, 561, 589, 590, 592; iv. 40, 46, 50, 60, 78, 92, 94, 121, 206, 208, 212, 257, 261, 442, 456.
Barclay, William, i. 82; ii. 175; iii. 93, 266.
.... M. D., i. 82, 489.
.... of Auchredie, iii. 50.
.... of Kerko, iii. 416; iv. 725, 726.
.... of Towie, i. 289; ii. 367.
Barde, George, of Glencuthill, iv. 677.
.... of Ordinhuff, ii. 366, 380, 381; iii. 34, 584; iv. 100, 232.
..... James, i. 282.
..... Johannes, Capellanus Dumblanensis, ii. 365.
..... Thomas, ii. 252.
.... de Ordynhuf, ii. 102, 211, 212.
Barnes, Georgius, Miles, iv. 106.
..... David, Capellanus, iii. 392.
Barron, Alexander, Reader at Fyvie, i. 230.
..... George, Notary, iv. 651, 674, 677.
..... Dr. Robert, i. 49, 50; ii. 244.
..... Robert, Burgess of Aberdeen, iii. 184.
Barry, Johannes de, iii. 166, 167.
..... Willelmus, Notarius, iii. 514; iv. 432.
Barthus Monachus, i. 625.
Basset, Robertus, i. 247.
Bastianus Presbyterus, i. 145.
Baty, Willelmus, iv. 678.
Bawn, V., Monachus de Aberbrothock, ii. 128.

Baxter, John, i. 303, 573; ii. 405; iii. 128, 153; iv. 536, 734, 735.
..... Robert, iv. 740, 741.
..... Thomas, i. 302; iv. 741.
..... Walter, Chaplain, iii. 466.
Bayne, Alanus, ii. 261.
..... Donaldus, ii. 261.
..... Johannes, ii. 261, 262.
Bean, St., i. 123, 141, 142, 649; ii. 253, 254, 258.
Beaton, Cardinal, iv. 480, 763.
Beaulieu, Prior of, Robert, iii. 526.
.... Simon, ii. 384.
Bede the Pict, Mormaer of Buchan, iv. 545, 546.
Beg, Frater Andreas, iii. 169.
Bekyrtone, Sir Walter of, iv. 380.
Beldin, Judex de Ferne, ii. 19.
Beldistoune, Andrew, i. 573.
Beleramb, Johannes, ii. 194.
Beleraumbe, Ferchardus, see Caithness, Bishop of.
Bell, Andrew, see Aberdeen, Treasurer of.
..... Gilbert, iv. 609.
..... John, iii. 199.
.... Rector of Kinghorn, ii. 199.
..... William, i. 567; ii. 431.
Bellenden, Archdeacon, i. 137.
..... Adam, see Aberdeen, Bishop of.
..... James, iv. 686.
..... John, of Auchnoull, ii. 93; iii. 36, 187, 351.
..... Thomas, iv. 667.
.... of Auchnoull, iii. 195.
Benham, Hugh, see Aberdeen, Bishop of.
Benriat, Johannes, iii. 394.
Bennef, Hugo de, ii. 120.
Bennin, Thomas de, Rector Scholarum de Aberdeen, i. 562.
Bennum, Hugh, see Aberdeen, Chancellor of.
Bentlay, Johannes de, iii. 576; iv. 727, 728.
Benton, Andrew, ii. 353.
..... Patrick, ii. 353.
Benyng, Martinus, i. 575.
..... Simon de, iv. 381.
Berchlai, Robertus de, i. 496.
Bereford, Edmundus de, Clericus, iv. 714.
Berlay, Elizabeth, iv. 217, 218, 219, 220, 223, 224, 225, 226, 227, 228, 229, 230, 278, 413, 738.
Bernewile, Adam de, i. 295.
Bernoldebi, Robert of, ii. 397.
Bertoune, Alexander, iv. 320.
..... Andrew, iv. 320.
..... Robert, iv. 320.
Bervie, Thomas, iv. 195.
Berwic, Johannes de, Canonicus Moraviensis, ii. 286.
Best, Robert, iv. 107, 109.
Betoun, Archibaldus, de Capildray, iii. 251.
..... James, see Aberbrothock, Abbot of.
.... see Aberbrothock, Commendator of.
.... Provost of Bothwell, ii. 355.
..... John of Balfoure, iv. 346.
Betune, Andreas, Miles, ii. 24.
Beuile, Henricus de, i. 247.
Beunis, Hugo de, Miles, i. 625.
Birney, Henricus, Notarius, iii. 20.

Birr, Robert, iv. 364.
Birs, Robertus, Notarius, iv. 405.
Bisset of Lessendrum, i. 111, 475.
..... Alexander, iv. 533, 575.
.... of Lessendrum, iii. 519.
.... Minister at Brechin, iii. 192.
..... Andrew, iii. 187.
..... Gauterius, i. 294.
..... George, i. 475; iii. 184, 216, 343, 344; iv. 42, 761.
.... of Petmukstoune, iii. 184, 185, 186, 188, 191.
.... Sheriff Depute of Aberdeen, iii. 424.
..... Gilbert, iii. 35, 186, 187, 188; iv. 102.
.... Sheriff Depute of Aberdeen, ii. 431.
..... John, i. 344, 561; ii. 136, 142, 143, 284; iii. 307, 308, 386.
.... Vicar of Kilmyr, iii. 34.
.... of Kinneffe, iii. 269.
..... Patrick, i. 506.
.... of Lessendrum, ii. 211, 212, 213; iii. 335, 446, 519, 586.
..... Peter, i. 531.
..... Reke, iv. 118.
..... Robert, ii. 109.
.... of Lessendrum, iii. 519, 520.
..... Thomas, i. 393; ii. 35; iii. 183, 187, 238, 239, 298, 445; iv. 96.
.... of Pitmukstoune, iii. 184.
..... W., ii. 143, 144.
..... Walter, i. 561; ii. 35, 57, 136, 217, 284; iii. 132; iv. 722.
Bisset, Walter, of Lessendrum, i. 477, 539, 618.
..... William, ii. 136, 283, 284.
.... of Routhyrlis, ii. 388.
Black, Alexander, of Whitewall, iii. 389.
..... George, iv. 471, 782.
..... John, ii. 367; iv. 42, 762.
.... Dominican Friar at Aberdeen, i. 202.
.... Burgess of Aberdeen, iii. 216, 264, 265.
..... Peter, of Haddo, i. 426.
..... Robert, iv. 490.
..... Thomas, iv. 100.
..... William, of Whitewall, iii. 389.
.... Sub-Principal of King's College, i. 425.
Blackader, Patrick, i. 121.
..... Robert, see Aberdeen, Bishop of.
Blackburn, Peter, see Aberdeen, Bishop of.
Blackhall of That Ilk, i. 583.
..... Gilbert, iii. 129; iv. 637.
..... Johannes, de Barroche, iii. 418, 419.
.... Clericus de Inverury, iii. 469, 470.
..... Robertus, de eodem, iii. 475.
.... de Little Folay, iii. 478.
..... W., of That Ilk, i. 118.
..... William, i. 117.
.... of That Ilk, i. 583; ii. 11; iii. 14, 65, 78, 103, 151, 340, 342, 407, 448, 450, 470, 475, 476, 477, 516, 519, 551, 561, 590, 592; iv. 40, 50, 111, 232, 469.
.... of Barrak, iv. 552.

Blackhall, William, de Barrauch de Bourty, i. 315; iii. 33, 64, 90, 103, 151, 221, 421, 450, 477, 536, 591; iv. 60.
.... of Bourty, iv. 469.
Blackteburn, Willelmus de, iv. 3.
Blaikwood, Robertus, iv. 506.
Blair, Adam de, iv. 3.
..... Alexander, Camerarius Sconae, ii. 181.
.... de, i. 408; ii. 303.
..... Johannes, Monachus de Lundoris, iii. 394, 410.
..... Nicholas of, Chaplain of Lord William Hay, iv. 395.
.... Rector de Dunnottar, i. 395.
..... Patricius de, de Petrewy, i. 575.
..... Thomas, iv. 100.
.... de, Scutifer, i. 472.
..... William, ii. 304.
Blakhaw, William, iv. 454.
Blaklawis, Robertus, iv. 31, 32.
Blanie, Peris, iv. 734.
Blantyre, Commendatarius de, Walterus, iii. 571.
..... Ricardus, iv. 531.
..... William, Vicar of Fyvie, iii. 549.
Bleid, T., iii. 228.
Blinsall, Alexander, iii. 254.
.... Baillie of Aberdeen, iii. 145, 216, 274.
.... Burgess of Aberdeen, i. 347.
..... Ninian, iii. 84.
..... Robertus, i. 518.
.... Burgensis de Aberdeen, iii. 46, 64, 84, 145, 185, 186, 192, 414, 464, 674, 560.
Blinsall, Robertus, Prepositus de Aberdeen, i. 457.
..... Thomas, iii. 254.
..... Umphra, iv. 56, 57.
..... William, iii. 253, 254.
.... Baillie of Aberdeen, iii. 46, 64, 243.
Blith, Willelmus, iii. 581.
Bo, Duncanus, ii. 261.
Body, Gilbert, ii. 434.
..... Robert, ii. 432.
Boece, Arthurus, iv. 335, 634.
.... Rector Beatae Mariae ad Nives, iii. 564, 565.
..... Hector, i. 46, 137, 140, 143, 162, 275, 449, 622, 654; iii. 237, 451; iv. 536, 680, 681.
Bogy, David, ii. 252.
Boig, Patrick, iv. 328.
..... William, iv. 556.
Bois, Alexander, ii. 135.
..... David, Monachus de Aberbrothock, ii. 128.
..... Henry, see Dunblane, Chancellor of.
..... Isabella, iv. 634.
..... Patricius, Portionarius de Panbride, iv. 635.
..... Willelmus de, iv. 695.
Boiville, H. de, iii. 402; iv. 694.
Bok, David, iii. 124.
Bonayr, Robertus, Clericus Gilberti Episcopi Aberdonensis, ii. 21.
Bondington, William de, see Glasgow, Bishop of.
..... Willelmus de, Cancellarius, ii. 136, 284.
Boneman, Alexander, Capellanus, ii. 230.
Boners, Johannes, Monachus, i. 512.

Boneville, John of, Knight, iii. 178.
Bonkyll, Ranulphus de, iv. 733.
Bonvile, Johannes, de Balhelvy Bonvile, i. 289, 379.
Borg, John, Notary, iii. 156, 157.
Borthane, Sir Nichol, Notary, ii. 356.
Borthwick, Lord, John, iv. 647, 671, 673.
.... William, i. 285, 608; iii. 102, 213, 275, 324, 348, 522; iv. 77, 120, 121, 214, 215, 357, 671, 672, 674, 676.
..... William of Ligeerwood, i. 448; ii. 376, 377.
..... Archibald, iv. 672, 673.
..... David, iv. 761, 779.
..... Edward, iv. 671.
..... Gavin, of Fentoune, iv. 671.
..... Jacobus, de eodem, iv. 676.
.... Apparens de Glengilf, iv. 675.
..... Sir John, i. 227.
..... John, iii. 8; iv. 675.
.... of Cinerey, iv. 672.
.... of Crukistoune, iii. 324.
.... iv. 672.
..... Michael, of Glengelt, iv. 671.
..... Robert, of Gordonshall, iv. 672.
..... Thomas, of Princado, iv. 671, 672.
..... William, i. 448; ii. 376, 377; iii. 251; iv. 672.
.... of, Knight, ii. 227; iv. 391, 393, 727.
.... of Crukistoune, iv. 671, 672.
Borthwick, William, of Katkune, iv. 724.
.... of Soltray, iv. 671.
Bosco, Galfridus de, ii. 56.
..... Hugo de, i. 294, 567.
..... Radulphus de, i. 567.
..... Willelmus de, i. 293, 294, 565, 566; ii. 123, 192.
.... Archidiaconus, i. 257.
.... de, Cancellarius Regis, i. 560, 624; ii. 55, 119.
.... de, Clericus Willelmi Regis, i. 510; ii. 41, 191, 192; iii. 177.
Boswele, Alexander, of Glasmouth, iii. 334, 335.
..... David, de Balmowto, iii. 334, 335.
Bosyth, Walterus de, i. 547.
Bothwell, Earl of, James, iii. 187.
.... Patrick, i. 263, 504; ii. 316, 362; iii. 51, 69, 164, 165, 213, 220, 357, 358, 398; iv. 36, 47, 464, 490.
..... Lord, John, iii. 102, 275, 348.
..... John of, i. 490; ii. 102.
.... Knight, i. 555.
.... Canon of Murray, i. 618; ii. 201.
..... Nicholaus de, iv. 157, 158.
Bowilden, Johannes de, Serviens Abbatis de Kelchou, i. 295.
..... Ricardus de, Serviens Abbatis de Kelchou, i. 295.
Bowman, Donald, iv. 474, 475.
..... Gregory, iii. 428.
..... William, iv. 27.

Boyd, Lord, Robert, ii. 315; iii. 514; iv. 68, 766.
..... Alexander, de Drumcoll, iii. 180, 241.
..... Peter, of Dulliedrane, iv. 762.
..... Robert, Knight, iv. 712.
..... Walter, de Petkindy, iii. 233.
Boyle, Johannes, Capellanus, iv. 34.
..... Thomas, Chaplain, iii. 266, 267.
Boyrn, Robertus, iv. 699.
Boysuille, Henricus de, i. 548.
Braco, Lord, William, ii. 225.
Branche, Andreas, Burgensis de Aberdeen, i. 457; iii. 46, 264, 464.
..... Thomas, Burgensis de Aberdeen, iii. 216, 508.
Brandan, St., i. 646, 647; ii. 115.
Braythol, Hugo de, ii. 195.
Brebner, David, ii. 261.
..... Duncan, ii. 261.
..... George, iv. 499.
..... Gilbertus, iv. 634.
.... Burgensis de Aberdeen, iii. 217.
..... Johannes, iv. 98.
.... Burgensis de Aberdeen, iv. 634.
..... Thomas, ii. 261.
..... William, iv. 474, 475.
Brechin, Abbot of, Leot, iv. 548.
..... Archdeacon of, Gilbert Forester, iv. 396.
.... Stephanus de Cellario, ii. 43.
..... Bishop of, Andrew Lamb, i. 166, 167.
.... G., iv. 117.
Brechin, Bishop of, George Shoreswood, i. 427, 542, 606; ii. 343; iii. 8, 98, 323, 324, 327, 424, 472, 513, 578; iv. 68, 69, 77, 78, 79, 89, 206, 256, 258, 271.
.... Dr James Drummond, i. 375.
.... John Balfour, iii. 510.
.... de Kyninmond, i. 342, 627; ii. 313.
.... Patrick de Leuchars, i. 483, 539, 540, 550; ii. 37, 43, 305; iii. 293, 362, 531, 573; iv. 156, 374, 718.
.... Radulfus, i. 247.
.... Sampson, iv. 550.
.... Walter Forrester, i. 448; ii. 375, 376, 377; iii. 96.
..... Precentor of, Paul Fraser, iv. 104.
..... David de, ii. 313.
.... Miles, i. 549.
..... Henricus de, i. 548, 625.
..... Willelmus de, i. 269, 625; iv. 698.
Bredwed, Frater Archibaldus, ii. 237, 238.
Bricius, Decanus, ii. 302.
..... Capellanus Mathei Episcopi Aberdonensis, i. 154.
..... Judex Regis, ii. 192.
..... Persona de Inveravon, ii. 301.
Bridy, Malcolm, see Fyvie, Prior of.
Brigis, Duncanus, ii. 261.
Brisbane, Alexander, ii. 10.
..... Johannes, de Bischoptoun, iv. 304.
..... Thomas, i. 498; ii. 10, 372 iv. 374.

Brisbane, Thomas, of Bar, iv. 104.
.... of Latheris, i. 344, 345.
Brittun, Henricus, i. 566.
Brodie of Muresk, i. 111, 463, 466.
..... David, Notary, iii. 73; iv. 586, 587, 635, 649, 683.
.... Reader at Philorth, i. 230.
..... Thomas, Priest, iv. 625.
Brogane, Agnes, iii. 148, 149.
..... David, iv. 142.
..... Henry de, Lord of Auchlowne, iii. 93.
..... Mariota, iii. 148.
Brokkes, Jacobus, iv. 635.
Brougham and Vaux, Lord, Henry, ii. 185.
Brouster, Duncan, ii. 261.
..... Sir Thomas, iii. 77.
Brown of Midmar, ii. 42.
..... Alexander, ii. 172.
..... Andrew, iv. 58.
..... Angus, iv. 499.
..... Archibald, Burgess of Forres, ii. 251.
..... David, de Glendristona, i. 616.
.... Presbyter Sancti Andree, ii. 335.
..... Duncan, ii. 364.
..... George, see Dunkeld, Bishop of.
.... Chaplain of Dene, iv. 312.
..... Gilbert, Reader at Auchindoir, i. 230.
..... Harie, iv. 471.
..... Henrie, iv. 782.
..... James, see Aberdeen, Dean of.
Brown, James, iv. 499.
..... Brother James, iv. 29, 32.
..... Sir John, i. 498; ii. 313; iii. 282, 428; iv. 380, 537, 712.
..... John, i. 516; iv. 124.
.... Notary, iv. 109.
.... of Kennate, i. 393; iv. 49, 191, 454.
.... of Midmar, ii. 42, 43.
.... Chaplain, iv. 344, 672.
..... Servanus, ii. 237, 366.
..... Frater Thomas, ii. 238.
..... Thomas, i. 347.
.... Notary, iii. 327; iv. 258, 260, 275.
.... Clericus Sancti Andree Diocesis, i. 285; iv. 209, 212.
..... Brother William, ii. 236, 237, 238.
..... William, ii. 366; iv. 56, 58, 499, 556, 657, 699.
Brownhill, Johannes, Subprior de Lundoris, iii. 394, 410.
Bruce, Andreas, ii. 367.
..... Christian, Lady of The Garioch, i. 537, 538; ii. 418; iii. 369, 429.
..... Sir David de, iv. 156.
..... David, of Clackmannan, i. 478.
..... Edward, ii. 238.
.... de, brother of King Robert, i. 342.
.... of Easter Kennet, i. 314.
..... George de Carnok, iv. 305.
..... Henry, Chaplain, iii. 514; iv. 438.
..... Isobila de, i. 548.
..... John of, i. 548, 625.

Bruce, John, of Clackmannan, i. 393; iii. 143.
..... Judex, i. 547.
..... Margaret, ii. 136.
..... Marjory, iv. 205.
..... Mauld, sister of David II., i. 251, 498.
..... Nigel de, brother of Robert I., ii. 340.
..... Patrick, of Pitcullo, i. 304.
..... Robert, i. 548, 627; iv. 478.
..... Sir Robert, Lord of Avondale, iv. 151, 699.
..... Robert, of Clackmannan, Knight, iv. 304.
..... Willelmus de, i. 561; ii. 235.
.... Clericus Aberdonensis, iv. 104.
.... Notarius, iii. 22; iv. 279.
Bruninge, Johannes, i. 627.
Brydyis, Alexander, iv. 447.
Brys, W. de, Subdecanus Moraviensis, iv. 375.
Bryson, Patricius, Presbyter, iii. 123.
Buchan, Earl of, Alexander, iii. 167; iv. 83, 119, 249, 268, 608.
.... Cumyne, i. 258, 299, 311, 322, 340, 364, 371, 455, 460, 467; ii. 337, 360, 391; iii. 3, 4, 112, 130, 338; iv. 599, 600, 697, 698.
.... Stewart, i. 83, 92; ii. 106, 295, 304, 305, 306, 319; iii. 364; iv. 168, 169, 186, 187, 256.
.... Fergus, i. 154, 407, 408; ii. 391, 417, 442; iii. 5, 119, 130; iv. 695.
Buchan, Earl of, Gartnait, iv. 691.
.... Henry de Beaumont, iv. 713.
.... James, i. 438, 608; ii. 212, 316, 371; iii. 523; iv. 214, 357, 473, 474.
.... Douglas, i. 92.
.... Erskine, i. 92, 333; iii. 5.
.... Stewart, i. 92, 301; iii. 5, 6, 167, 232, 242, 243, 508, 529.
.... John, ii. 361, 364, 368, 380, 415; iii. 33, 34, 521; iv. 85, 113, 116, 122, 123, 382, 387, 388.
.... Cumyne, i. 23, 162, 163, 304, 340, 480; ii. 360; iv. 705, 707.
.... Stewart, i. 91, 482, 487, 488; ii. 30, 35, 162, 314, 337, 380; iii. 5, 80, 244, 475, 509, 525, 533, 536, 537, 538; iv. 412, 413, 452.
.... Robert, iv. 766.
.... Douglas, i. 92; iii. 5.
.... Roger, i. 172.
.... Thomas Stewart, iv. 210, 253, 254, 259, 262.
.... William Cumyne, i. 91, 185, 400, 560, 561; ii. 235, 391, 394, 409, 426, 427, 428; iii. 5, 130.
.... Cumyne, i. 18, 35, 42, 96, 321, 361, 368, 388, 398, 423, 444, 447.
.... Douglas, i. 18, 35.
.... Erskine, i. 18, 35.

Buchan, Earl of, Stewart, i. 18, 35.
..... and Ross, Earl of, John, iv. 419, 420.
..... Countess of, Christian Stewart, i. 92; ii. 369.
.... Elizabeth, iv. 208.
.... Isabella, i. 371, 372.
.... M., i. 337.
.... Margaret, iv. 4.
.... Ogilvy, iii. 167.
.... Ruthvane, iii. 167.
.... Marjory, i. 560; ii. 337, 426, 427, 428; iii. 5, 130.
.... Mary Douglas, i. 92; iii. 5.
..... of Auchmacoy, i. 109, 361.
..... of Cairnbulg, i. 110.
..... Alexander, de eodem, iv. 571, 572.
.... de Auchmacoy, ii. 432; iii. 89, 90, 560, 561; iv. 41, 572.
..... Andrew, iv. 60, 61, 188, 206, 208, 257, 261, 394.
.... of Auchmacoy, i. 282; iii. 90, 321, 561; iv. 399.
..... Colonel, of Carnbulg, i. 452.
..... Duncan, iv. 347.
..... Gartenach, Grandfather of Roger, Earl of, i. 172.
..... James, of Auchmacoy, i. 361, 362.
..... John, i. 232; iv. 347.
..... M., Filius Comitis de, i. 338.
..... Mrs., ii. 118.
..... Ricardus de, Clericus Ade Episcopi Aberdonensis, ii. 121.
Buchan, Robert, of Portlethen, i. 264, 266.
..... Major General Thomas, i. 361, 362.
..... Walter de, see Shetland, Archdeacon of.
..... William, ii. 432; iv. 61.
.... of Auchmacoy, i. 290; iii. 53, 89, 421, 516, 536, 553, 560; iv. 38, 40, 41, 46.
Buchanan, Thomas, i. 167.
Bucharm, Sumerletus de, ii. 283.
Bukeland, Johannes, iv. 107, 109.
Bully, William, iv. 193.
Burgie, Elizabeth, ii. 171.
Burgo, Willelmus de, i. 624.
Burnard, Johannes, Capellanus, iv. 34.
..... Johannes, Claviger David II., i. 518.
..... Robertus, i. 404.
..... Simon, ii. 66, 67.
..... Willelmus, ii. 66, 67.
Burne, Alexander, i. 302.
Burnen, Robertus, iv. 84.
Burnett of Elrick, i. 110, 236.
..... of Kemnay, i. 110, 584.
..... of Leys, i. 71, 110, 631; ii. 66.
..... Alexander, see Aberdeen, Bishop of.
.... i. 276; ii. 39, 66.
.... of Cluncy, iv. 137, 762.
..... Sir Alexander, of Craigmyle, ii. 5; iii. 329.
..... Alexander, of Kebbatie, iv. 141.
..... Sir Alexander, of Leys, i. 38; iv. 567.

Burnett, Alexander, of Leys, i. 282, 516, 583; ii. 45, 61, 62, 65, 66; iii. 32, 129, 292, 299, 300, 301, 306, 317, 335, 341, 342, 343; iv. 57, 58, 78, 740.
.... of Shettocksley, iii. 217.
.... of Tilliheikis, i. 115.
..... Andrew, iv. 740.
.... of Elrick, iii. 204.
.... of Shettocksley, iii. 217.
..... Duncan, Physician, i. 40.
.... Prebendary of Methlick, iii. 352, 443.
..... George, of Elrick, iii. 204.
.... of Gask, ii. 353.
..... Dr. Gilbert, Bishop of Salisbury, i. 39, 570.
..... Gilbert, Professor of Philosophy, i. 40.
..... James, of Shettocksley, iii. 217.
..... John, of Elrick, iii. 204.
.... of Leys, iii. 321.
.... Minister of Monymusk, i. 171.
.... Burgess of Aberdeen, iv. 762.
.... Notary, iii. 197, 467; iv. 562.
..... Robert, Lord Crimond, i. 39, 570.
.... iii. 458; iv. 451.
.... of Balmad, ii. 12; iii. 193, 340, 385, 448, 533, 537, 551; iv. 40.
.... of Elrick, iii. 204.
.... Advocate in Edinburgh, iv. 140.
Burnett, Sir Thomas, of Leys, i. 38; iii. 330.
.... M. D., i. 39.
..... Thomas, D.D., i. 40, 638.
.... Physician, i. 40.
.... of Balmad, iii. 260, 335, 418.
.... of Crathes, i. 25.
.... of Gask, iii. 64, 90, 103, 221, 561, 591; iv. 46.
.... of Tulykaichlie, iv. 762.
.. .. Prebendary of Methlick, iii. 255, 354, 381, 400.
..... William, i. 344.
.... of Camphield, ii. 6.
Burnewood, Robert, iv. 307.
Burt, Frater Jacobus, ii. 238.
Busby, Sir John of, iii. 201; iv. 175.
Bustleir, Reginaldus, iv. 3.
Butar, Finlay, iv. 486.
..... Patrick, iv. 486.
Bute, Donald of, see Dunblane, Dean of.
Buttergask, Adam, i. 538; ii. 102, 106.
..... Andrew, i. 491, 537; ii. 130.
..... John of, i. 539.
.... Baillie of the Garioch, iv. 716.
..... Patrick, Vicar of Cortoquhy, ii. 45.
Bwk, Andrew, Burgess of Aberdeen, iii. 353, 354.
Byduach, Johannes, Notarius, iv. 92.
Bygot, R., Miles, i. 338.
Bynes, Johannes, Monachus, i. 188.
Bynny, Willelmus, iv. 131.
Byres, James, iv. 471, 782.
Byron, Lord, i. 494.

CABELE, ALEXANDER, Parson of Banchory-Devenick, iii. 15, 127, 172.
Cabell, Alexander, i. 159, 464.
..... Willelmus, Prebendarius de Tullynessale, iii. 86, 352, 381, 435, 443.
Caddell, Alexander, iv. 769.
..... John, of Asloune, iv. 762.
.... of Holmes, iv. 147.
Cadiou, Andrew, ii. 141.
.... Burgess of Aberdeen, iii. 414.
..... Johannes, iv. 193.
.... Clericus Aberdonensis Diocesis, i. 283, 435.
.... Notarius, iii. 180, 324; iv. 454.
..... Walterus, de Cragtoune, iii. 346.
..... William of, iv. 188.
.... Burgess of Aberdeen, iii. 272.
Cainnech, son of Mac Dobarchon, iv. 547.
Caithness, Archdeacon of, Alexander Barbar, ii. 377.
..... Bishop of, Alan St. Edmond's, iv. 603.
.... Andrew, iv. 550.
.... Stewart, ii. 266, 347; iii. 55, 79.
.... Ferchardus Beleraumbe, i. 627.
.... J., i. 256; ii. 232.
.... Robert Strathbrock, i. 366.
.... William, iii. 327; iv. 200.
..... Bishop Elect of, Alexander Gordon, iv. 234.
Caithness, Treasurer of, William Gordon, ii. 262.
..... Earl of, Walter Stewart, iii. 231.
.... William, ii. 266; iii. 8; iv. 79.
.... de Sancto Claro, iii. 97, 98.
..... Master of, William, de Sancto Claro, iii. 97, 98, 99, 100, 101.
..... Robert of, iv. 715.
Calabre, Sir William of, Prebendary of Ellon, ii. 446; iii. 4.
..... William of, Canon of Aberdeen, iv. 34, 378.
Caldenheid, Willelmus, iii. 581.
Calder of Aswanlie, iii. 183, 185.
..... Alexander, iv. 432, 433.
.... of Asloun, iv. 146, 147.
.... of Sonnahard, i. 315; iii. 33, 64, 89, 94, 126, 170, 193, 221, 257, 260, 315, 335, 342, 383, 385, 418, 448, 519, 534, 561, 590, 591, 592; iv. 40, 50, 111, 121, 442.
..... George, ii. 184, 261.
..... Hew, of Fyndlatrie, iv. 146.
.... of Scamsgyse, iv. 146.
..... Hutcheon, ii. 183.
..... James, iv. 144.
.... of Asloun, iv. 350.
.... of Auchintoull, iv. 443.
..... John, iv. 774.
.... of Asloun, iv. 143, 769.
.... Bute, Pursuivant, iii. 29.
..... Patrick, iv. 143.
.... of Dorsell, iv. 146.

Calder, Thomas, ii. 215.
.... Vicarius de Kildrummy, iii. 423; iv. 441.
..... Willelmus, ii. 222; iii. 466, 467.
Caledour, Johannes de, Clericus Adam Episcopi Aberdonensis, i. 564; ii. 18, 21.
Cambhou, Walter of, iv. 698.
Cambray, John de, ii. 313.
Cambroun, Hugo de, i. 618.
..... Johannes de, iv. 117.
Cambuskenneth, Abbot of, Henry, ii. 211, 316; iii. 163, 213.
..... David, Electus de, ii. 355.
Camera, Adam, ii. 42.
..... Alexander de, iv. 195.
..... Herbertus de, i. 510; ii. 42, 119.
..... Ricardus de, ii. 42.
..... Robertus de, ii. 74.
.... de Kyntorr, ii. 36, 37.
..... Thomas de, i. 555, 556; iv. 36.
.... Burgensis de Aberdeen, i. 393.
..... Willelmus, i. 500, 502; ii. 25; iv. 168, 453, 723.
.... Canonicus Aberdonensis, i. 502.
.... Rector de Erole, ii. 264.
.... de Ballnacrag, i. 576.
.... de Fyndon, i. 272, 273; iii. 32; iv. 178, 382, 384, 732.
.... Burgensis de Aberdeen, i. 273.
Camerall, Richardus, i. 630.
Camerarius, David, i. 245.
Cameron, Sir Hugh, of Brux, i. 592.
Cameron, Johannes, iv. 157, 158.
.... Prepositus Ecclesiae Collegiatae de Lyncloudane, iv. 115, 184.
.... Secretarius Regius, iii. 370.
Campania, Henricus Frater Roberti de, i. 625.
..... Robertus de, i. 548.
.... Senescallus Johannis de Scotia, i. 625.
Campbell, Lord, Duncan, iv. 193.
..... Archibaldus, Clericus, iv. 431.
..... Colinus, iii. 273.
.... Miles, iv. 49.
..... David, iv. 431.
..... George, Principal of Marischal College, ii. 51.
..... Hugo, de Lowdoune, iv. 234.
..... Johannes, Commendatarius de Ardchattane, ii. 251.
.... Thesaurarius Regis, iii. 111.
.... de Calder, Miles, i. 409; iv. 431.
.... de Lundy, Miles, iv. 97.
..... Robert, iv. 33.
Campo, Johannes de, Prebendarius de Turriff, ii. 344.
Campis, Radulphus de, ii. 283.
Candida Casa, see Galloway.
Cant, Alexander, Minister at Upper Banchory, iv. 687, 688, 689.
..... Andrew, i. 53, 442; iv. 137, 139, 141, 686, 687, 688, 689.
..... James, iv. 688.
Capella, Robertus de, ii. 19.
Caperun, Willelmus, ii. 19.

Caran, St., i. 550; iii. 396, 397.
Cardno, Andrew, iv. 66.
..... George, iv. 636.
..... John, Vicar of Crimond, ii. 394.
Careswell, Willelmus de, iv. 154, 155.
Cargill, Thomas, i. 60, 463.
Carkettill, William of, ii. 402.
Carle, Willelmus, iv. 82.
Carlile, John, iii. 102, 275, 314, 347, 511, 580.
.... Vicar of Glenbucket, iii. 487, 499; iv. 450, 488.
Carll, Alexander, i. 382.
..... John, i. 383.
Carmichael, Willelmus, Rector Scholae Aberdonensis, i. 254.
Carnac, St., i. 460.
Carncors, Johannes, de Balmachenar, iv. 67, 437.
Carnegie, David, iv. 339, 531.
..... Sir David, of Kynnard, Knight, iv. 360.
..... David, parson of Aberdour, iv. 669.
.... parson of Kynnoul, iii. 517, 519.
..... John, iv. 670.
.... of Kynnard, ii. 45.
.... son of Robert Carnegie of Kynnard, iv. 530.
..... Robert, iv. 469, 670.
.... of Kynnard, Knight, iii. 518; iv. 339, 366.
.... of Kynnard, iv. 530, 531.
.... parson of Aberdour, iv. 669, 671.
Carnegie, Robert, parson of Touche, iv. 338.
Carnequhyn, William of, i. 434.
Carnismyll, David, ii. 261.
Carnston, Sir William of, iv. 380.
Carnusy, Donaldus, ii. 211, 212.
Carnys, Alexander de, Prepositus de Lyncludan, ii. 376.
Carrick, Earl of, Edward Bruce, iii. 211.
.... John, see Robert III.
.... Robert Bruce, i. 340.
..... Johannes de, Canonicus Glasguensis, ii. 305; iv. 114.
Carstairs, Alexander, Rector de Keith, iii. 326.
..... Jacobus, Monachus de Lundoris, iii. 391, 394, 410.
Carwell, Jacobus, Presbyter Sancti Andree, iv. 169.
Cassie, William, ii. 432.
Cathal Mac Morcunt, iv. 546.
Cathcart, Lord, John, iii. 141.
..... Alan, son of Lord Cathcart, iii. 141.
..... Alanus, ii. 343.
Cathnes, Andrew, i. 303.
Cathock, Andreas, i. 343.
Cauder, Hugo, ii. 261.
..... Johannes, ii. 261.
..... Willelmus, ii. 261.
Caunt, Sir Alexander, Prebendary of Inverkeithny, ii. 318.
Cellario, Stephanus de, see Brechin, Archdeacon of.
Chaiklok, Frater Robertus, prior Fratrum Predicatorum de Perth, iii. 122.
Chalmers of Balnacrag, i. 635.

Chalmers of Cults, i. 71.
..... Alexander, i. 478; iii. 508.
.... of Ardlethen, iii. 39, 40.
.... of Balnacrag, i. 115, 576, 577; iii. 20, 21; iv. 232, 469.
.... of Cults, iii. 260, 261, 351, 501, 502; iv. 367, 626.
.... of Gardin, iii. 215.
.... of Kirktoune of Tyrie, iv. 104.
.... of Murthill, Provost of Aberdeen, i. 207.
.... iii. 303, 366, 458; iv. 313.
.... of Serjand, i. 314.
.... Feodatarius de Strathechin, iv. 585, 586.
.... Heir Apparent of Andrew Chalmers of Strathechin, iv. 584, 585.
.... Provost of Aberdeen, i. 347.
.... Junior, Burgess of Aberdeen, i. 457.
..... Andrew, i. 118; iv. 147, 656.
.... of Strathechin, iv. 582, 583, 584, 585.
..... Charles, iii. 425, 427.
... .. David, i. 585; iv. 65.
.... of Balbithan, iii. 410, 424, 425, 426, 427.
.... of Bawach, iii. 129.
.... of Strathy, i. 462.
.... Notary, iii. 101.
.... Duncan, Chancellor of Ross, iii. 33.
.... Parson of Furvie, iii. 38; iv. 635.
Chalmers, George, Minister of Drumblait, i. 475.
..... Gilbert, ii. 117; iii. 18, 20, 40, 155; iv. 583, 635, 658.
.... Chaplain, iii. 237.
.... Vicar of Tulich, iii. 224.
..... Henry, iii. 425, 427.
.... Burgess of Kintore, iii. 235, 236.
..... James, iii. 425, 427.
..... John, iii. 39; iv. 50, 451, 658.
.... of That Ilk, iv. 584.
.... of Auchcorvy, iv. 65.
.... Younger of Balnacrag, iv. 56, 58.
.... of Strathechin, iii. 340, 383, 384, 551; iv. 582.
.... Minister of Inveravon, ii. 294.
.... Prebendary of Ellon, iii. 255.
.... Reader at Kintore, i. 229.
.... Burgess of Aberdeen, iii. 182.
..... Mr., Minister at Glass, ii. 185.
..... Patrick, Notary, iv. 658.
..... Robert, Burgess of Aberdeen, iii. 182, 216; iv. 626.
.... Burgess of Perth, iii. 271.
..... Thomas, i. 118; iii. 40, 334.
... . of Boundis, i. 382.
.... of Cults, i. 115; ii. 12; iii. 260, 501.
.... of Fyndoun, iii. 351.
.... of Gardin, iii. 183, 215, 220.

Chalmers, Thomas, of Methlick, iii. 446.
.... of Strathechin, iii. 384, 448; iv. 50, 51, 65.
.... Burgess of Aberdeen, iii. 272, 358.
.... Notary, iii. 373.
..... William, i. 251, 573; ii. 136; iii. 255, 425, 427, 541; iv. 31, 66, 267, 268, 367.
.... of That Ilk, iv. 584.
.... of Balnacrag, iii. 38, 39, 40, 238, 335; iv. 66, 90.
.... of Fyndoun, iii. 336, 351.
.... Baillie of Kintore, iii. 237.
.... Burgess of Aberdeen, iii. 366.
.... Burgess of Perth, iii. 271.
.... Notary, iv. 55.
.... Presbyter of Deer, iii. 435.
.... Reader at Fyvie, i. 230.
Chapman, Andrew, ii. 360.
..... Duncan, Burgess of Aberdeen, i. 232.
..... Laurencius, Notarius, iii. 467.
..... Thomas, Burgess of Aberdeen, iii. 475.
Charles I., King of Great Britain, i. 17, 57, 63, 81, 108, 264, 307, 570; ii. 113; iv. 250, 251, 303, 307, 310, 311, 369, 597, 665.
..... II., King of Great Britain, i. 87, 440, 570; iii. 24, 25, 67, 86, 201, 226, 312, 316, 329, 396, 415, 500, 505, 572; iv. 48, 60, 654.
Charteris, Andreas, de Cuthilgurdi, iv. 120.
..... John, iii. 33; iv. 738, 739.
.... of Kynfauns, ii. 45.
..... Ricardus, Capellanus, iii. 271.
..... Thomas, of Cangnor, ii. 39; iv. 738, 739.
Chattellarault, Duke of, James, iii. 35, 215, 350.
Chaumbroun, Robertus de, de Balgligernaucht, iv. 605.
Chellecham, Frater Hubertus de, Magister de Torphechan, iii. 125.
Chepman, David, i. 382.
..... Patrick, ii. 38.
Cherie, Stephen, iii. 552.
Chernsid, John, iv. 590.
Chessome, John, iv. 625.
Cheyne of Arnage, i. 305.
..... of Essilmont, i. 301, 322, 444.
..... of Inverugie, i. 420.
..... of Straloch, i. 236, 237.
..... Alexander, iii. 80; iv. 674.
.... Commissary of Aberdeen, i. 304.
.... of Arnage, iii. 14, 15, 16, 17, 18, 66; iv. 469.
.... of Straloch, iii. 17, 18, 554, 555.
.... Notary, iii. 198.
..... Arthurus, iv. 675.
..... Francis, i. 304; iii. 22, 23, 280.
.... of Inverugie, i. 162, 304.
.... Parish Clerk of Ellon, i. 309.
.... Burgess of Aberdeen, iv. 675.

Cheyne, Freskyn de, see Aberdeen, Dean of.
..... Dr. George, i. 322.
..... Gilbertus de Crowie, iii. 542.
..... Henry, see Aberdeen, Bishop of.
.... Knight, iv. 72, 73.
.... i. 237; ii. 263, 353, 354; iv. 612.
.... of Essilmont, i. 237, 301, 302, 303, 304, 381, 382, 383; iii. 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12, 14, 15, 20, 127.
..... James, i. 119, 305, 382; ii. 364.
.... of Straloch, i. 237; iii. 64, 71, 89, 151, 193, 205, 315, 383, 384, 408, 421, 533, 561, 590; iv. 442, 616, 617.
.... Burgess of Aberdeen, iii. 216, 222.
..... John, i. 302, 303, 304, 381, 382, 383; ii. 364, 400; iv. 498, 607, 614.
.... Advocate in Aberdeen, i. 355.
.... Fiar of Arnage, iii. 18.
.... of Drumquhendill, i. 577; iii. 17, 18.
.... of Essilmont, i. 304, 317; ii. 353, 354, 429; iii. 12, 14, 15, 16, 94, 103, 126, 170, 383; iv. 94, 121.
.... of Fortrie, ii. 349; iv. 533.
.... of Pitfichie, iv. 674, 676.
.... of Straloch, i. 237; iii. 6, 35, 303, 554; iv. 92, 660.
Cheyne, Laurence, Commissary of Aberdeen, i. 304.
..... Patrick, ii. 353, 354; iv. 498, 770.
.... Advocate in Aberdeen, i. 355.
.... Parish Clerk of Ellon, i. 309.
..... Sir Patrick, of Essilmont, i. 304, 313, 318, 386, 387; iii. 14, 15, 16, 17, 18, 19, 20, 21, 22, 23, 66.
..... Patrick, of Essilmont, i. 577; ii. 237, 365, 366, 367, 408; iii. 21, 22, 23, 35, 89, 542; iv. 120, 497, 646, 647, 672, 674, 676, 677.
.... of Ferryhill, iii. 195; iv. 674.
.... Baillie of Aberdeen, iii. 556.
..... R., Miles, i. 372.
..... Rabeldel, iv. 599.
..... Ranald, i. 347; iv. 613.
.... of That Ilk, iv. 206, 208, 212, 257.
.... of Crechie, iii. 321.
.... of Crechynalde, iv. 198.
..... Reginald, Knight, ii. 37, 401; iv. 599, 600, 601, 602, 603, 607, 608, 611, 612, 614, 752.
.... ii. 326; iii. 210; iv. 73, 75, 606, 607, 608, 609, 610, 612, 613, 614, 698.
.... Senior, i. 193, 194, 197, 258, 305, 470; iii. 542, 543, 544, 547; iv. 603, 604.
.... Junior, i. 193, 305, 470; iii. 543; iv. 603, 605, 606.
..... Sir Reginald, of Straloch, i. 237, 304; iv. 614.

Cheyne, Reginald, of Straloch, iii. 7, 8, 9, 11.
..... Robert, iii. 35, 129; iv. 261.
..... Thomas, i. 313; iii. 18; iv. 551.
.... Fiar of Essilmont, iii. 17, 18, 20, 21, 30.
.... of Raniestoun, iii. 195.
..... William, iv. 599, 647.
.... of Arnage, i. 305; iii. 35.
Chisholm, Alexander, iv. 84.
..... Captain, i. 243.
..... Brother Gilbert, iii. 119.
..... Gilbert, ii. 431.
.... Prior of Deer, iv. 29.
.... Minister at Deer, &c., i. 227.
..... Jacobus, de Cromlix, Miles, iv. 304.
..... Robertus de, iii. 132.
.... Miles, iii. 532.
.... Dominus ejusdem, iv. 376.
..... Thomas, i. 478, 479, 480; iv. 434.
.... of Ercles, iii. 121.
..... William, see Murray, Treasurer of.
.... Burgess of Aberdeen, iii. 71.
Chival, Robert, iv. 373.
Christeson, Dene John, Provincial of the Carmelite Friars, i. 214.
..... Richard, Reader at Crathie, i. 229.
..... Thomas, Reader at Cabrach, i. 230.
Chrystallus, Thomas, see Kinloss, Abbot of.
Chyld, Jacobus, Canonicus de Monymusk, i. 180, 181, 182; iii. 489.
..... Johannes, ii. 237, 366.
Claphame, Alexander de, i. 373.
Clark, Alexander, Notary, iii. 85.
..... Andrew, ii. 117; iv. 280.
.... Curate, iv. 344.
.... Notary, iv. 498, 742.
..... Henry, iii. 373.
..... James, of Tillicorthie, iii. 83.
.... Notary, iv. 658.
..... John, i. 382; iv. 144, 537.
.... Notary, iv. 399.
.... Vicar of Rathyn, iv. 96.
..... Patrick, ii. 289.
..... Robert, iii. 82, 83.
.... Chaplain, ii. 221.
..... Thomas, Clericus, iv. 348.
.... Notarius, iv. 399.
.... Vicarius de Rayne, iii. 430.
..... Sir Walter, M.P., ii. 404; iv. 76.
..... Walter, Chaplain, iii. 240.
..... William, ii. 211, 212; iii. 83; iv. 131.
.... Presbyter of Aberdeen, ii. 263.
Clatt, Duncanus, Decanus Gylde de Aberdeen, iii. 270.
..... John, ii. 375.
.... Canon of Aberdeen, i. 159; ii. 28; iii. 258, 397, 458.
.... Canon of Brechin and Aberdeen, iv. 187.
.... Vicar of Banchory-Devenick, iii. 517.

Cleland, Jacobus, de eodem, iii. 197; iv. 561.
Clepan, George, of Kerslogy, iii. 138.
Cloggie, William, Minister of Inveravon, ii. 293, 294.
Clugestoun, Johannes, iv. 117.
Cluny, Willelmus de, Dominus ejusdem, iv. 384.
Clyfft, Petrus, ii. 263.
Clyn, William, iv. 375.
Cochran, John, iv. 65, 488.
.... of That Ilk, iii. 141.
..... Patrick, of Colane, i. 576.
..... Peter, of Pitfour, i. 595.
Cockburn, Alexander, de Langton, iii. 165; iv. 319.
.... Custos magni sigilli, i. 499; ii. 99.
..... Sir John of, iv. 190.
..... John, Knight, iii. 93, 268, 472; iv. 49, 67, 191, 193, 436, 437.
.... iii. 539.
.... of Ormistoun, Knight, iii. 383, 571.
..... Patrick, Knight, iv. 89.
.... iv. 498.
..... Richardus, junior de Clerkingtoun, Miles, iii. 383, 571.
..... Robertus, ii. 287.
..... Sir William, iv. 380.
..... William of Ormistoun, iv. 193.
Cocus, Alexander, i. 498.
..... Michael, i. 240.
Cok, Duncan, i. 303.
..... Robert, iv. 506.
Coke, Andrew, iii. 178, 179.
Colbain, High Steward of Buchan, iv. 549.
Coldyngham, Prior de, Johannes Aclif, iv. 732.
Colle, Nicholaus de, iv. 701.
Collini, Johannes filius, iii. 44.
Collison of Auchlunies, i. 265.
..... Alexander, Burgess of Aberdeen, iii. 216.
..... David, i. 573.
.... Burgess of Aberdeen, iii. 548.
..... Gilbert, i. 209.
.... of Frosterhill, iii. 215, 352, 353.
..... James, Notary, iii. 596.
.... Senior, Burgess of Aberdeen, iii. 216.
.... Junior, Burgess of Aberdeen, iii. 216.
..... Johannes, Balivus Templi in vicecomitatu de Aberdeen, iii. 437, 438.
..... John, iv. 456.
.... Provost of Aberdeen, iii. 556.
.... Sub-Chanter of Aberdeen, iii. 254, 255, 381, 400.
.... of Nether Skelmuir, iii. 71.
.... Burgess of Aberdeen, i. 457; iii. 70, 71, 358, 366.
Colman, St., iii. 330.
Columba, St., i. 138, 139, 267, 285, 429, 510, 580; iii. 131, 319; iv. 545, 546, 548, 549.
Colville, James, of East Wemyss, iii. 349.
..... John, iv. 610.
..... Robert, of Hilton, ii. 190.
.... of Ochiltree, ii. 347; iii. 55, 80, 474, 507; iv. 134.

Colville, Thomas, Knight, i. 501; iv. 727.
..... William, Parson of Ochiltree, iv. 610.
Comgeall Mac Eda, iv. 546.
Comgell, iv. 548.
..... Mac Caennaig, Chief of Clan Canan, iv. 549.
Con of Auchry, i. 473.
..... Alexander, de Auchry, ii. 358, 359; iv. 339.
..... George, i. 50, 473, 474.
..... Patrick, of Auchry, iii. 542; iv. 640.
..... William, iv. 339, 483.
Conan, John, of Conansythe, i. 512.
Cone, Alexander, of Deray, iv. 625.
Coners, Reginaldus, Canonicus Aberdonensis, i. 196; iii. 546.
Congan, St., i. 460, 467, 469; ii. 337, 338, 339.
Constantinus, Monachus de Neubotel, ii. 169.
Cook, Patrick, i. 439.
Copland, Alexander, of Udauch, i. 471; ii. 370; iii. 536; iv. 40, 61.
..... George, ii. 369.
..... Johannes, Vicecomes de Rokesburgh, iv. 154.
..... Patrick, iv. 674.
..... Thomas, i. 118.
.... of Udauch, i. 472, 473; ii. 353; iii. 509.
Corbet, Robert, ii. 365, 398.
..... Walter, ii. 397.
Corbeth, H., ii. 143.
..... Robert, i. 490; ii. 234.
Cormac, St., i. 143.
..... de Turbrud, iv. 550.
..... Mac Cennedig, iv. 549.
Cornwell, Sir John, Vicar of Telyne, iii. 135.
Corrini, Duncan, iv. 378.
Corshill, Johannes de, ii. 205, 206.
Corsky, Simon, ii. 211, 212.
Cosoure, Adam, iv. 200.
Cospatrick, Earl, ii. 397.
..... Filius Maded, i. 408.
Couan, William, ii. 436.
Coutts, Alexander, iv. 451.
.... of Ochtercoule, iii. 103, 340, 551, 561.
..... Captain, iii. 281.
..... James, Reader at Keirn, i. 229.
..... John, of Ochtercoule, iv. 90, 445.
.... Junior, iv. 90.
..... Laurence, iv. 92.
.... Reader at Tullich, i. 229.
..... Mertinus, ii. 45.
..... Robert, of Ochtercoule, iv. 762.
.... Fiar of Ochtercoule, iv. 450.
..... Sir William, i. 617; iv. 472, 473, 474.
..... William, Vicar of Tarlane, iii. 323.
Covingtre, Walter de, see Aberdeen, Dean of.
Cowie, John, ii. 433.
..... Thomas, Notary, iii. 435.
.... Presbyter of Aberdeen, ii. 353.
Cowisoun, Andrew, i. 435.
..... John, i. 435.
Cowpar, Alexander, ii. 184.
..... James, iv. 471, 782.

Cowpar, John, ii. 262.
..... William, Reader at Glenbucket, i. 230.
Crab, Adam, iv. 195, 196.
..... John, i. 231; iii. 351; iv. 443.
.... Burgess of Aberdeen, iii. 44.
..... Paul, iii. 458.
.... Burgess of Aberdeen, i. 273.
Crabe, Andrew, Chaplain, iv. 725, 727.
..... Sir John, Vicar of Fyvie, ii. 327.
Crabstone, Sandilands of, i. 238.
Craghed, Andrew, ii. 367.
..... Robert, i. 382.
Cragy, Hugo, ii. 225, 250, 251.
.... Chaplain, ii. 187.
.... Prebendary of Inverkethny, ii. 318.
..... Johannes de, iv. 599, 600.
..... Willelmus de, iv. 599.
Craig, Alexander, Notary, ii. 349.
..... Sir John, i. 279.
..... John, Burgess of Aberdeen, i. 232.
.... Chaplain, i. 576.
..... Patrick, iv. 488.
..... Richard, Parson of Dundee, iv. 67, 436, 437.
..... Robert, iv. 42, 100.
..... Sir Thomas, i. 481.
..... Thomas, iv. 766.
Craigingelt, Johannes, de eodem, iv. 747.
Craigmile of That Ilk, i. 631.
..... John, iii. 298.
Craik, Alexander, ii. 433.
..... Ambrose, ii. 433.
..... Andrew, i. 541; ii. 433.
Craik, Andrew, of Cragesfintra, iii. 193, 221, 385, 534; iv. 94.
..... James, i. 443.
..... Laurence, Burgess of Aberdeen, iii. 295.
..... Frater Ricardus, iii. 251.
..... Ricardus, Clericus, iii. 268.
..... Robert, Burgess of Aberdeen, iii. 216, 243.
Crail, Adam, see Aberdeen, Bishop of.
..... Alexander, Camerarius David abbatis de Aberbrothock, ii. 209.
..... Frater David, ii. 251.
..... David, Notary, iii. 398, 399.
..... James, Chaplain, iii. 398, 399.
Crakitt, Johannes de, Miles, iv. 374.
Cramownde, Laurencius, ii. 45.
..... Thomas, ii. 45.
Cranno, otherwise Watson, Sir Thomas, Vicar of Fyvie, i. 496.
Cranstoune, Jasperus, Rector de Fetheresso, iii. 465.
..... John, iv. 673.
..... Thomas de, iv. 160, 195.
.... Miles, i. 285.
.... de eodem, iii. 324.
..... Willelmus, iv. 200.
.... Miles, iii. 93, 268; iv. 67, 193.
.... de Corsbie, Miles, iv. 206.
.... de Swynhope, iii. 324.
Cravy, John, i. 382.
Crawford, Earl of, Alexander, i. 108; ii. 45; iii. 7, 8; iv. 200.
.... de Lindsay, iv. 391, 393, 398.

Crawford, Earl of, David, i. 608, 656; iii. 115, 232, 275, 347, 348, 417, 441, 511, 522, 528, 580; iv. 43, 63, 106, 162, 206, 215, 257, 357, 393, 593.
.... de Lindsay, i. 503; iv. 163, 381, 732.
.... John, i. 319; ii. 45; iii. 42. 43, 94, 126, 170, 224, 315; iv. 121.
..... of Fedderat, iv. 51.
..... Adam, Burgess of Aberdeen, i. 351.
..... Alexander, ii. 433; iv. 578.
..... Andrew, ii. 433.
..... Edward, iv. 52.
.... Vicar of Durnocht, iv. 727.
..... Galfridus de, i. 561, 625.
..... George, iv. 52.
.... of Fedderat, i. 115; ii. 366; iv. 574, 575, 576, 577, 580.
..... James, iv. 52.
..... John, i. 394; ii. 192; iv. 52, 53.
.... Keeper of the King's Privy Seal, ii. 351.
.... Keeper of the Seal, iv. 87.
.... of Bonnakellie, iv. 52.
..... Magnus, iv. 52.
..... Nicholaius, de Oxingangis, Clericus, iv. 97.
.... iv. 667.
..... Nicholas, iv. 577.
..... Patrick, i. 502, 524; ii. 360; iii. 132, 263, 264.
.... of Fedderat, iv. 378.
Crawford, Philip, of Fedderat, i. 344. 345, 394.
..... Ronald, iv. 52.
..... Thomas, ii. 11; iv. 42, 50, 61.
.... of Fedderat, iii. 151, 221, 408, 590, 592.
..... Walter, of Fedderat, iii. 303.
..... William, ii. 356, 361; iv. 95. 124, 344, 577.
.... See Aberdeen, Archdeacon of.
.... see Aberdeen, Precentor of.
.... of That Ilk, iv. 578.
.... of Annaquhie, ii. 432.
.... of Fedderat, i. 315, 478; ii. 352; iii. 14, 15, 33, 64, 89, 94, 103, 105, 126, 151, 170, 193, 221, 305, 335, 375, 384, 408, 448, 450, 516, 519, 533, 561, 590; iv. 42, 50, 51, 52, 60, 79, 92, 94, 111, 121, 125, 574, 578, 580.
.... of Ferme, ii. 376.
Crawmundie, Alexander, de Melgunde, i. 282.
Crichton, Lord, William, ii. 134, 135; iii. 93, 267, 403, 413, 522, 589; iv. 67, 119, 200, 202, 275, 436, 437.
..... of Condlaw, i. 167, 592.
..... of Frendraught, ii. 190, 324.
..... Gavin, iii. 589.
..... George, of Conzie, i. 118; iv. 526.
..... James, iii. 589.
.... of Cranstoun Riddel, iv. 675.
..... Sir James, of Frendraught, iii. 587.

Crichton, James, of Frendraught, Knight, ii. 325; iii. 418, 589.
.... i. 519, 524.
.... of Towys, iii. 418.
..... John, iv. 114.
.... Knight, i. 502.
..... Patrick, Knight, ii. 355.
..... Robert of Sanchar, Knight, ii. 401; iii. 324; iv. 193.
.... of Eliok, Advocate, iv. 766.
..... William, iii. 589.
.... of That Ilk, Knight, iv. 391, 393.
.... Vicar of Durris, iii. 360, 361.
.... Parson of Invernochty, iv. 740.
Criste, Thomas, iv. 586.
Cristesone, Alexander, Chaplain, iii. 430, 431.
..... John, iii. 199, 200, 389; iv. 494.
..... Nichol, ii. 141.
..... Thomas, iv. 592.
..... William, iii. 298, 393; iv. 491, 494.
Cristinus, Capellanus Capellae S. Menimii, ii. 216.
..... Clericus, i. 455.
..... Johannes, iv. 735.
..... Judex, i. 340.
..... Vicarius de Forgue, ii. 388.
..... Willelmus, iii. 266.
Crohcat, Gavin, ii. 434.
Cromar, Alexander, Notary, iii. 34.
Crombie, Alexander, de Inverernan, iii. 340, 551; iv. 476.
Crombie, Alexander, de Petmethane, iii. 384, 563.
..... Sir Thomas, i. 584.
..... Thomas, of Kemnay, i. 109; iii. 387, 423.
Cromdole, John, Canon of Ross, i. 538, 618; ii. 10; iv. 159, 374, 716, 717, 718.
Crowedan, Andrew, iv. 614.
Croye, Alexander, ii. 261.
Croyn, Thomas de, ii. 170.
Cruden, John, iv. 676.
Cruickshank, Adam, Vicar of Cruden, i. 381.
..... Alexander, ii. 333; iii. 373.
..... Andrew, of Little Wartle, iii. 435.
..... Christinus, iv. 85.
..... David, ii. 261.
..... George, iv. 514.
..... James, of Bogfarlay, iii. 215.
..... John, i. 582; ii. 261, 434; iii. 266.
.... of Little Wartle, iii. 435, 436, 437, 438.
..... Robert, of Kinkell, iii. 427, 428.
..... William, ii. 262, 326; iii. 437.
.... of Tillymorgan, i. 304.
Crystie, Alexander, ii. 433.
..... Andrew, ii. 433.
..... George, ii. 433.
..... William, ii. 432.
Cryne, William, i. 381; iv. 118, 385.
.... Burgess of Aberdeen, i. 353.

Crynie, William, Notary, iv. 267, 268, 274.
Cuik, William, Notary, iv. 687.
Culase, Johannes de, ii. 341.
Culii, Mac Batui, iv. 546.
Cull, William, i. 548.
Cullan, Alexander, iv. 626.
.... Burgess of Aberdeen, iii. 216.
.... Provost of Aberdeen, i. 190.
.... Parson of Oyne, i. 159; iii. 420.
..... Andrew, iii. 446; iv. 48, 49.
.... Burgess of Aberdeen, iii. 38, 216.
.... Parson of Fetterneir, i. 527.
.... Provost of Aberdeen, iv. 42.
..... Henry, ii. 136.
..... Ingraham, i. 231.
..... John, ii. 431; iii. 46; iv. 92.
.... of Knavane, iii. 53, 419, 446; iv. 46.
..... Patrick, Burgess of Aberdeen, iii. 216.
..... Robert, Burgess of Aberdeen, iii. 145, 149, 420.
..... Walter, iv. 100.
.... Burgess of Aberdeen, iii. 215, 358.
.... Reader at New Aberdeen, i. 228.
Culletnachi, Jacobus de, i. 196.
Culquhounne, Johannes, de eodem, Miles, iii. 115, 180, 224, 241, 417, 528.
Culross, Commendator of, Alexander, iv. 766.
Cultis, Allanus, Notarius, iv. 446.
..... Johannes, de Auchtercule, iv. 324.
..... Laurencius, iii. 299.
Cults of Auchterawl, i. 588.
Cumnock, Nichol of, iii. 161.
Cumyn of Auchry, i. 109, 473, 474.
..... of Birnes, i. 110, 362.
..... of Crimond, i. 362.
..... of Cultis, i. 71, 110, 291.
..... of Inverallochy, i. 291.
..... of Kininmund, i. 429.
..... of Pittulie, i. 111.
..... Sir Alexander, iv. 707.
..... Alexander, i. 269, 456; ii. 109; iv. 99, 104, 130, 175, 176.
.... of Birnes, iii. 31.
.... of Crimond, iii. 30.
..... Sir Alexander, of Culter, i. 42, 291; iv. 535.
..... Alexander, of Culter, i. 115, 299, 300; ii. 67; iii. 65, 78, 302, 338, 339, 340, 341, 342, 343, 344, 345, 519, 536; iv. 40, 46, 78, 111, 132.
.... of Ernnyschede, iv. 590.
.... of Inverallochy, iv. 683, 684, 685.
.... Apparent of Culter, iv. 535.
.... Factor to Earl of Errol, i. 425.
..... David, ii. 188.
.... Minister at Bremurray, iv. 81.

Cumyn, David, Servitor Episcopi Moraviensis, ii. 251.
..... Fergusius, iv. 697.
.... Frater Alexandri Comitis de Buchan, i. 470.
..... James, i. 456; iii. 334; iv. 70, 188.
.... of Rattray, iv. 637.
.... Burgess of Aberdeen, iii. 529.
..... Sir John, iii. 429.
..... John, i. 548; iii. 77; iv. 373, 698, 699, 700, 713.
.... son of Alexander, Earl of Buchan, iii. 112.
.... Lord of Badenoch, iv. 602, 713.
.... of Culter, iii. 343, 344; iv. 469.
.... of Kininmund, i. 429.
.... Prebendary of Deer, iii. 443.
.... Notary, iii. 343, 344.
..... Jordanus, i. 190, 455; ii. 119.
..... Ricardus, i. 518.
... . Miles, ii. 36, 390; iii. 263; iv. 84.
..... Robert, ii. 109.
.... of Birnes, i. 389.
..... Thomas, i. 112, 456, 457, 458; iv. 36, 132, 579, 782.
.... of Altre, ii. 181.
.... of Pullane, iv. 61, 62.
..... Walter, ii. 119, 235.
..... William, Knight, i. 372.
.... i. 496, 513; ii. 233, 301, 369; iii. 177; iv. 373.
.... brother of Earl of Buchan, iii. 112.
Cumyn, William, of Culter, i. 299, 456, 457, 458; iii. 338, 339, 529; iv. 61, 62, 130.
.... of Inverallochy, Knight, iv. 132, 133, 134.
.... of Inverallochy, i. 299, 300, 356, 412, 456, 458; iii. 299, 341, 458, 475; iv. 64, 104, 579, 647, 683, 685.
.... Younger of Inverallochy, iv. 133.
.... of Kelbryd, i. 340.
.... Claviger Regis, i. 456, 457.
.... Clerk, i. 567.
Cunningham, Adam, iv. 307.
..... Alexander, iv. 83.
..... David, see Aberdeen, Bishop of.
..... Edward, iii. 58.
.... Vicar of Tarves, i. 335.
..... John, iii. 587.
..... Robertus, iv. 193, 202.
.... de Kilmaurs, iii. 587.
..... Frater Robertus, Minister Provincialis Ordinis Trinitatis, iii. 194.
..... Thomas, iv. 749.
..... William, Knight, i. 539; ii. 140.
.... iv. 466.
.... of Kilmaurs, Knight, ii. 351; iv. 87.
Cupar, Abbot of, Alexander, i. 560.
.... Andrew, iv. 699.
.... Arnold, ii. 301.
.... Donald, iii. 187; iv. 429, 430.
.... John, iv. 427, 428.

Cupar, Abbot of, William, i. 269; iv. 195.
Currour of Durne, ii. 103.
..... Alexander, N.P., ii. 333.
..... Andrew, ii. 124.
..... George, ii. 109, 110.
..... Jacobus, Clericus Aberdonensis Diocesis, ii. 230.
..... John, i. 574.
.... of Durne, ii. 211, 212.
..... Henry, iii. 389.
Curry, James, Reader at Cluny, i. 228.
.... Reader at Premnay, i. 228.
..... John, iv. 335.
..... Robertus de, Nativus, i. 477.
..... Walter, ii. 314; iv. 179.
Cusnye, James, Reader at Aboyne, i. 229.
Cussenin, Adam de, ii. 19.
Cuthbert of Rosehall, i. 236.
Cwbe, Frater Alexander, iii. 251.

Dalgarno, Andrew, iv. 577.
..... Sir Andrew, Vicar of Abirloth, iv. 72.
..... John, iii. 355.
.... of Dalgarnofintray, iii. 14, 94, 103, 126, 170, 260, 336, 340, 419; iv. 121.
.... of Fintray, i. 344.
.... of Gardinffintray, iv. 40, 94.
..... Patrick, of that Ilk, ii. 369.
..... William, of Blackwater, i. 424; ii. 395.
.... of Fintray, i. 422, 423.
Dalgleise, William, of Corsop, iv. 672.
Dalloquhy, Robert, Prebendary of Kynor, ii. 168.
..... Thomas, Notary, iv. 334, 446, 447, 457, 740, 742.
.... Reader at Kildrummie, i. 229.
Dalmahoy, Alexander de, iv. 607.
.... Miles, iv. 607.
..... Robert of, iv. 120, 323.
Dalzell, John, ii. 264.
..... Robertus de, ii. 378; iv. 125.
..... Willelmus de, Miles, i. 502.
.... ii. 264.
Danyelstoun, Robert, Knight, iii. 93.
Darnley, Dominus, Johannes, iii. 180, 224; iv. 593.
Daron, Jacobus, Presbyter Sancti Andree, iii. 273.
David I., King of Scots, i. 128, 142, 144, 152, 159, 238, 246; ii. 129, 230, 233, 272, 365, 401, 410; iii. 163; iv. 486, 536, 548, 549, 690, 691.
..... II., King of Scots, i. 82, 122, 146, 159, 231, 232, 235, 237, 240, 251, 272, 287, 288, 363, 366, 379, 404, 434, 435, 483, 490, 491, 498, 518, 528, 537, 539, 548, 549, 579, 585, 594, 596; ii. 10, 25, 35, 49, 72, 73, 97, 101, 102, 106, 128, 130, 134, 136, 145, 146, 159, 160, 218, 219, 222, 227, 263, 273, 314, 318, 319, 332, 383, 385, 386, 389, 400, 418; iii. 89, 113, 293, 362, 506, 530, 531, 573; iv. 122, 155, 188, 305, 322, 373, 611, 612, 613, 715, 717, 719, 720.
..... Earl, Brother of the King of Scots, see Huntingdon, Earl of.

David, Filius Comitis Duncani, ii. 136.
..... Frater Comitis Malcolmi, i. 408.
..... Marescallus Willelmi Regis, iii. 177.
..... Clericus, iv. 4.
..... Robertus, iv. 453.
.... Filius, iv. 382.
.... Aldirmannus, iv. 381.
Davidson of Balnacraig, i. 110.
..... Alexander, iii. 42; iv. 313, 347, 352, 353.
.... Advocate, iv. 535, 689.
.... Chaplain, iv. 46.
.... Notary, iv. 355, 356, 640.
..... Andrew, ii. 434.
.... Baillie of Cullen, ii. 141.
.... Vicar of Dalkeith, iii. 253.
..... Duncan, iii. 489, 490; iv. 347, 487.
.... of Auchinhamper, i. 321; iii. 299.
..... George, of Pettens, i. 237, 239.
.... Burgess of Aberdeen, iii. 215.
..... Gilbert, ii. 349.
..... James, ii. 336.
.... Notary, iii. 45; iv. 500.
..... John, i. 424; ii. 395; iii. 70, 549, 550; iv. 352, 353, 541.
.... Notary, iii. 307, 308; iv. 278.
..... Robert, iv. 177, 178, 533.
..... Sir Robert, Provost of Aberdeen, i. 208.
Davidson, Robert, Vicar of Kinellar, iii. 222, 240.
..... T., iv. 139.
..... Thomas, i. 182; ii. 446, 447; iii. 277, 489, 490; iv. 141, 190, 344, 348, 401, 676, 687.
.... of Auchinhamper, iii. 487, 490.
.... Notary, i. 180; iv. 532.
.... Portioner of Ardgethin, iv. 137.
.... Reader at Echt, i. 228.
..... William, iii. 400, 581; iv. 31, 32, 59, 579.
.... of Ord, iv. 579.
.... iv. 370.
.... Minister, iv. 315.
.... Minister at Rathen, ii. 392.
Dean, William, see Aberdeen, Bishop of.
Deer, Abbot of, Dene Adam of Smalham, ii. 413, 425.
.... Dene Alexander, ii. 412.
.... Arthur, ii. 420; iv. 191.
.... Brice, ii. 415.
.... Henry, ii. 413.
.... Dene Herbert, ii. 412.
.... Hugh, i. 188; ii. 411, 413, 414.
.... James, ii. 420, 429; iii. 29, 275.
.... Pittendrigh, iv. 5, 46, 53, 550.
.... John, ii. 418; iv. 551, 552.

Deer, Abbot of, John Innes, i. 188; ii. 421, 422; iv. 16, 18, 19.
.... Michael, i. 189; ii. 417; iv. 609.
.... Pittendrigh, ii. 421.
.... Dene Robert, ii. 412.
.... Robert, ii. 379, 413, 420.
.... Keith, i. 187; ii. 421; iv. 19, 30, 32, 33.
.... Walran, ii. 413.
.... Walter, ii. 153, 412.
.... William, iv. 62, 592.
..... Commendator of, Robert, ii. 422, 423, 432, 435, 437, 439; iii. 117, 119; iv. 553, 555, 556, 557, 558, 559.
Deiranus, Samuel, Monachus, i. 186.
Dempster, Archibaldus, de Halcevaillis, iii. 541, 566, 569, 570.
..... Carolus, de Barrane, iii. 570.
.... de Poglasse, iii. 567.
..... David, iv. 398.
.... de Auchterless, i. 282; iv. 212, 261.
.... de Caraldstone, iii. 510.
..... Francis, Jesuit, i. 50.
..... Georgius, de Ordley, iii. 570.
..... Jacobus, de Auchterless, vicecomes deputatus de Banff, ii. 369.
.... iii. 566, 567, 568.
..... Johannes, de Auchterless, i. 464; iii. 510, 511, 561, 562, 563, 564, 565, 566, 567, 569.
.... de Knokleytht, iii. 570.
..... Robertus, Junior de Auchterless, iii. 570.
Dempster, Thomas, i. 60, 64, 137, 463; iii. 570.
.... de Auchterless, iii. 568, 569, 570, 571.
..... Walterus, iii. 334.
.... de Auchterless, iii. 64, 90, 221, 561, 562, 563, 591.
Denastoun, Thomas, i. 314.
Deray, Johannes de, ii. 61.
..... Joneta de, ii. 61.
Derbi, Johannes de, Officialis de Aberdeen, i. 568.
..... Roger of, see Aberdeen, Precentor of.
Derby, Stephanus de, Canonicus Aberdonensis, i. 565.
Deskford, Lord, Walter, i. 438, 647.
Deuokis, Johannes, i. 197.
Devenick, St., i. 140, 141, 151, 264, 267, 268, 320.
Deyr, Christianus, iv. 347.
Diaconianus, St., i. 619; iii. 290; iv. 478, 479.
Dick, Alexander, see Glasgow, Archdeacon of.
Digwale, Robert, see Ross, Dean of.
Dike, Will, iv. 27.
Diksone, Thomas, Prebendary of Turriff, ii. 346.
Dilgaern, Alexander, iv. 122.
Dilguid, George, iv. 471.
Dingwall, Johannes, Prepositus Ecclesiae Collegiatae Sanctae Trinitatis, iii. 332.
..... Sir John, Notary, ii. 266.
..... Patricius, iv. 431.
..... Thomas, Ballivus Comitis de Ross, iii. 532.
..... William, of Brucklay, i. 407.

Dingwall, William, see Ross, Dean of.
Dionisius, Decanus de Angus, i. 257.
..... Decanus de Forfar, i. 561.
Direby, Simon de, Serviens Andree Episcopi Moraviensis, ii. 288.
Diss, Reginald, i. 573; iv. 402.
Disschyngton, Willelmus de, Miles, i. 483, 512; ii. 351, 386; iv. 88.
Dog, Johannes, iv. 331.
Doge, Jacobus, ii. 355.
Dolace, Alexander, ii. 367.
Dolays, Willelmus de, Miles, ii. 159.
Dolpene, Gilbertus, i. 625.
Domach, Rex Pictorum, iii. 289.
Domnall, son of Mac Dubbachin, iv. 547.
..... Mac Giric, iv. 546.
..... Mac Ruadri, iv. 546.
Domongart, the Reader of Turriff, iv. 548.
Donald, St., i. 275, 595, 596, 636.
..... John, ii. 367.
Donaldey, Thomas, iv. 734.
Donaldson, Alexander, iv. 89.
..... Dr. Alexander, iv. 369, 370.
..... David, iii. 582.
..... Donaldus, Baron de Essilmond, iv. 370.
..... Finlay, of Auchinleisch, iii. 124.
..... John, i. 382, 394; iv. 347.
..... Laurence, Reader at Rothiemay, ii. 151.
..... Patrick, of Bogfarlay, iii. 215.
..... Robert, i. 318; iv. 370.
..... Walterus, iv. 369.
.... Utriusque juris Doctor, iv. 370.
Donaldson, Willelmus, Vicarius de Dalmayok, iii. 123, 233, 243, 367.
Donaldus, Curatus de Skene, i. 280.
Donalej, Patricius, ii. 261.
Donan, St., i. 505, 506, 507.
Donchad, son of Mac Bead, iv. 548.
Done, Andrew, of Rattie, ii. 221.
Donebankis, Michael de, de eodem, iii. 584.
Donnachac Mac Sithic, Chief of Clan Morgainn, iv. 549.
Donort, St., i. 143.
Dortie, John, Burgess of Aberdeen, iv. 762.
Dosky, Gilquhan de, iii. 582.
Doucequer, Abbe de, Johan, ii. 415.
Douglas, Countess of, Margaret, iii. 369, 416, 576; iv. 350, 724, 725, 726, 728, 730.
.... Douglas, i. 626.
..... Earl of, Archibald, i. 290, 448, 499, 555; ii. 31, 99, 375, 376, 377; iii. 96, 165, 296, 297, 363; iv. 85, 115, 172, 319, 391, 392.
.... James, i. 626; iii. 231, 369, 416, 422, 576; iv. 166, 642, 726, 727, 728.
.... William, i. 316, 390, 483, 538, 540, 550, 616, 626; ii. 85, 305, 351, 386; iii. 141, 181, 293, 369, 416; iv. 88, 118, 119, 156, 159, 160, 198, 200, 201, 374, 718, 722, 723, 724, 725, 726.
..... and Mar, Earl of, William, i. 233, 594; ii. 44, 67; iii. 369; iv. 85, 114, 158, 376.
..... of Glenbervie, i. 532, 584.
..... of Tilwhilly, i. 638, 639.

Douglas, Alexander, iii. 8; iv. 367, 630.
..... Dr. Alexander, ii. 112.
..... Alexander, Capellanus Moraviensis, ii. 188.
.... Deputatus Vicecomitis de Aberdeen, i. 281; ii. 327; iii. 97, 297, 325, 326.
..... Archibald of, i. 540, 550; iii. 231, 232; iv. 171, 458, 694, 732.
.... Knight, ii. 319, 351, 386, 394, 395; iv. 374, 642.
.... of Glenbervy, iii. 481.
.... of Kilspindie, Treasurer to the King, iii. 116.
..... Archibaldus de, Dominus Galvidiae, iv. 88, 113, 114.
..... Arkembaldus de, ii. 279.
..... David, i. 516.
.... Haeres Jacobi Douglas de Pittendrigh, iii. 46.
..... Elizabeth of, iv. 371, 382, 386, 387, 394.
..... Freskynus de, iv. 607.
..... Gawane of, iii. 483.
..... George of, iv. 729.
.... Lord of Angus, iv. 166, 167.
.... Reader at Aberchirder, ii. 152.
..... Henry, i. 471, 478; iii. 124, 515.
.... of Lochleven, Knight, iv. 196, 202, 331.
.... of Logtoun, Knight, iv. 49.
..... Isabella de, Domina de Mar et de Garioch, iv. 457, 458.
Douglas, Jacobus, Dominus de, i. 379; ii. 106, 218, 395; iii. 292, 293, 313, 316; iv. 612, 711, 712, 760.
..... James, i. 516; ii. 224; iv. 169, 198, 616.
.... Knight, iv. 69.
.... Lord of Abercorn, i. 448; ii. 375, 376, 378.
.... of Balvanie, i. 555; ii. 257, 381, 382; iv. 113, 115, 124, 389.
.... of Dalkeith, Knight, i. 290, 503; ii. 31, 99; iv. 172, 319.
.... iii. 96, 165, 296, 297, 363.
.... of Pittendrigh, iii. 46, 47.
..... Sir James, of Railstone, Knight, iii. 124.
..... John, iv. 613, 614, 731.
.... Prebendary of Ruffill, ii. 173.
.... Vicar of Glastoun, ii. 250.
..... Margaret, spouse of John, Earl of Athol, ii. 265.
..... Captain Robert, iii. 280.
..... Robert, of Lochleven, iii. 251; iv. 124.
.... of Logtoun, iii. 154; iv. 124.
..... William, i. 112; ii. 135; iv. 694, 730.
.... of Glenbervie, iv. 767.
.... Chaplain of Murray, ii. 188.
Doune, Lord, James, iv. 770.
..... William, ii. 359.
Dover, Ricardus de, Clericus Willelmi Episcopi Sancti Andree, i. 257.

Downe, Andrew, iv. 100.
Driburch, Petrus de, Clericus Willelmi Episcopi Sancti Andree, i. 176, 257.
Drimmyngis, Johannes, Vicecomes de Aberdeen, i. 195; iii. 545.
Drostan, St., i. 442, 443, 446; ii. 225, 289, 373, 374; iv. 545, 546, 547, 548, 549.
Drum, Edwardus, iv. 367.
Drumblee, Andrew, Reader at Bourtie, i. 230.
Drumfries, John of, iv. 193.
Drummond, Lady Anne, wife of John, Earl of Errol, i. 94.
..... Lord, John, i. 263; ii. 317; iii. 51, 69, 164, 165, 213, 357, 398, 580.
..... David, ii. 44, 45.
..... Elizabeth, iv. 281, 283.
..... Harry, ii. 350.
..... Dr. James, see Brechin, Bishop of.
..... John, ii. 317; iv. 190, 454, 506.
.... of Inverpeffray, iv. 233, 482.
.... of Lundin, iii. 312.
..... Malcolm, Lord of Mar and the Garioch, iii. 458.
.... Lord of Mar, iii. 458; iv. 162, 163, 164, 165, 729.
.... Knight, iv. 728.
.... of Megour, i. 231; iii. 56, 57.
..... Margareta, iv. 233.
.... Domina de Culquhailze, iii. 376.
..... Robert, of Carnok, iv. 312, 475.
Drummond, Walter, see Dunblane, Dean of.
.... ii. 317; iii. 69.
..... William, see Dunblane, Dean of.
Dryburgh, Abbot of, James Ogilvie, i. 572.
.... W., i. 174.
Dubni Mac Malcolaim, iv. 548.
Duckette, Leonellus, iv. 108.
Dueri, Alexander, ii. 261.
Duff of Braco, i. 110, 205, 210, 637, 649; ii. 182.
..... of Corsindae, ii. 260.
..... of Craighead, ii. 259.
..... of Craigston, i. 110, 482.
..... of Crombie, ii. 426.
..... of Hatton, i. 110, 464, 260; ii. 321.
..... of Keithmore, i. 482, 649; ii. 290.
..... of Maldavid, ii. 259.
..... Adam, iv. 782.
.... of Clunybeg, ii. 259; iv. 471.
.... of Drummuir, ii. 260, 289.
..... Alexander, iv. 471.
.... of Braco, ii. 257, 260.
.... of Hatton, i. 508.
.... of Keithmore, ii. 254, 259.
.... of Torrosoile, iv. 498.
..... Andrew, ii. 141, 267.
..... Archibald, of Drummuir, ii. 260.
..... David, ii. 134, 140.
..... Sir George, Provost of Collegiate Church of Cullen, ii. 136.

Duff, John, ii. 141, 267; iv. 471.
.... of Coulbin, ii. 260.
.... of Darbruche, ii. 141, 142.
.... of Maldovat, i. 210; ii. 366.
.... Burgess of Cullen, ii. 228.
.... Writer in Aberdeen, ii. 259.
..... Patrick, of Craigston, ii. 260.
.... of Iden, i. 551.
.... of Premnay, i. 550.
..... Robert, of Drummuir, ii. 260.
.... Minister of Aberlour, ii. 290.
..... William, of Braco, i. 649; ii. 83, 255.
.... of Crombie, ii. 260.
.... of Dipple, ii. 258, 260.
.... of Muirton, ii. 260.
Duffus, Adam, iv. 99.
.... Presbyter of Murray, iv. 96.
..... Alexander, iv. 782.
..... Andrew, ii. 439.
..... Archibaldus de, Miles, ii. 282.
..... David, Filius Johannis Duffus, ii. 140.
..... John, iv. 782.
.... Presbyter of Murray, iv. 89.
..... Frater Robertus de, ii. 247.
..... Robertus de, Canonicus Moraviensis, ii. 280, 304.
..... Walterus de, Miles, ii. 158.
Duguid of Auchinhive, i. 109, 607, 635; ii. 40.
..... George, iv. 782.
..... Robert, iv. 113, 468.
Duguid, Robert, of Auchinhive, ii. 11; iii. 52, 64, 90, 94, 126, 170, 276, 383, 448, 449, 561, 563, 589, 591, 592; iv. 50, 121, 442, 469, 482, 663, 740, 762.
..... William, of Auchinhive, iv. 741.
Dun of Tartie, i. 362.
..... Andrew, of Raty, iii. 581.
..... Charles, of Badindach, iii. 225.
..... John, ii. 106.
..... Margaret, Lady, ii. 296, 309.
..... Nicholas de, i. 282.
.... de Raty, iii. 586.
..... Dr. Patrick, iii. 195.
..... William, Canon, ii. 195.
.... see Murray, Dean of.
Dunbar, Earl of, George, iv. 161.
.... Patrick, ii. 397.
..... of Durn, i. 71, 644.
..... of Frendraught, ii. 321, 324.
..... Alexander, i. 118; ii. 250; iii. 58; iv. 212, 261, 625.
.... see Murray, Dean of.
.... of Cumnok, iv. 625.
.... of Kwnyac, ii. 150, 318.
.... of Mill of Balcairne, iii. 415.
.... of Tarbat, iii. 542.
.... Apparens de Tarbert, iv. 498.
.... of Westfield, Knight, i. 165; iii. 528, 529, 588, 590; iv. 69, 70, 591, 592, 593, 615, 616.
.... Minister of Inveravon, ii. 294.
..... Bettarage, iv. 632.
..... Gavin, ii. 394; iv. 443.

Dunbar, Gavin, see Aberdeen, Bishop of; Glasgow, Archbishop of; Murray, Dean of; St. Andrews, Archdeacon of.
..... George, iv. 590, 591.
.... Parson of Kilmowir, ii. 181.
.... Minister at Bocharm, ii. 276.
..... James, of Castletoun, iii. 34.
.... of Cumnok, Knight, iii. 590.
.... iii. 589, 590; iv. 625.
..... Sir James, of Durn, ii. 95.
..... James, of Frendraught, i. 524; iii. 587.
.... of Tarbart, ii. 173, 188.
.... of Westfield, iii. 590, 591.
.... Writer, iv. 310.
..... John, iv. 79.
.... of Cumnok, Knight, iv. 193, 195.
..... Joneta de, Domina de Frendraught, i. 524; ii. 134, 135.
..... Dompnus Robertus de, Monachus, i. 512.
..... Robert, of Durris, ii. 251.
.... of Mill of Balcarne, iii. 416.
.... Parson of Touch, iv. 687.
Dunblane, Archdeacon of, Walter Stewart, iv. 191.
..... Bishop of, Adam Bellenden, iv. 686.
.... James Chisholm, iii. 275.
Dunblane, Bishop of, Michael Ochiltree, iv. 193.
.... Robert Lauder, ii. 343, 401; iii. 327; iv. 200.
.... William Chisholm, iv. 234.
.... Stephen, iv. 387.
..... Chancellor of, Henry Boys, ii. 135.
..... Dean of, Donald of Bute, ii. 264.
.... Walter Drummond, i. 263; iii. 12, 165, 580.
.... William Drummond, ii. 404.
Dunbreck, Alexander de eodem, i. 356.
..... Georgius de, iv. 591.
..... John, of That Ilk, i. 290, 315; ii. 11, 12; iii. 65, 80, 90, 221, 257, 384, 448, 450, 516, 519, 553, 563, 589, 591, 592; iv. 38, 50, 94, 111.
..... Katherine, iv. 571.
..... Patrick, i. 653.
..... Philippus, i. 524; ii. 74; iii. 62; iv. 722.
.... Dominus ejusdem, i. 344, 345; iii. 26.
.... Burgensis de Aberdeen, iii. 64.
..... Wat of, iii. 7.
.... Burgess of Aberdeen, i. 307.
..... William, i. 334; ii. 364.
.... of That Ilk, iii. 80.
.... Burgess of Aberdeen, iii. 71.
Duncan, son of Earl of Mar, iv. 702.
..... son of Moregrund, iv. 694.
..... son of Roger, iv. 159, 373, 374, 715, 718.

Duncan, Alexander, ii. 435.
..... Andrew, ii. 436.
..... James, of Mardrum, i. 482.
..... John, i. 498; ii. 141; iv. 536, 636.
.... Presbyter, iii. 267.
..... Laurence, Notary, iii. 321, 323.
..... Patrick, of Scottistoun, iv. 147.
.... Notary, iii. 34.
..... Thomas, i. 573.
Duncani, Johannes, Capellanus in Murtlach, ii. 262, 263.
.... Notarius, iv. 591.
..... Laurencius, Presbyter Aberdonensis, iv. 198, 727.
Duncanson, Alexander, Burgess of Kintore, iii. 238.
.... Dempstare, ii. 367.
..... Angus, iii. 402.
.... Reader at Leslie and Christiskirk, i. 228.
..... David, iii. 368.
.... Notary, iii. 594.
..... George, Notary, iv. 657.
..... John, i. 617; ii. 141; iv. 472, 473, 489, 496, 497, 538, 656.
.... Burgess of Banff, ii. 369.
..... Patrick, Notary, iv. 97.
..... Thomas, iv. 496.
Duncanus, Comes, i. 496; ii. 129, 233,
..... Frater, ii. 431.
..... Filius Alun, i. 564.
.... Dolfy, iv. 378.
.... Hemli Camerarii Nesii, iv. 693.
.... Moregrundi, ii. 18.
Duncanus, Filius Tyoks, iv. 197.
..... Marus, iii. 402; iv. 694.
..... Vicarius de Kildrummie, iv. 734.
..... Vicarius de Kintore, iii. 241; iv. 402.
Dundas, Alexander, de eodem, iv. 92.
..... Georgius, Dominus Sancti Johannis, iii. 437.
Dundee, Viscount, i. 362.
..... Frater Willelmus de, ii. 247.
..... William de, Parson of Alwyth, ii. 313.
Dundemor, Henricus de, i. 567, 625.
Dune of Ratie, i. 119.
Dunfermline, Abbot of, A., 256, 335; ii. 129.
.... George, iii. 165, 213, 418.
.... Hugh, ii. 313.
.... James, ii. 362; iii. 104. 139, 473; iv. 47, 443, 464.
.... John of Torry, i. 523.
.... R., i. 337.
.... Ralph, i. 523.
.... Richard, ii. 327.
..... Commendator of, Robert, iv. 767.
..... Countess of, Jane, i. 493.
..... Earl of, Alexander, i. 496.
.... James, iii. 48.
..... Euma de, Marus Capitalis Vicecomitatus de Aberdeen, i. 233.
..... John of, Clerk, iii. 428.
Dunkeld, Archdeacon of, Joceline, i. 256.
..... Bishop of, Alexander Lindsay, i. 166, 167.
.... Cormac, iv. 548.

Dunkeld, Bishop of, George Brown, ii. 42; iii. 51, 164, 195, 213, 275, 348, 358; iv. 215.
.... Gregory, iv. 550.
.... James Bruce, iv. 49.
.... Livingstoun, i. 608; iv. 214, 357.
.... John Hamilton, iii. 351.
.... Peebles, ii. 44, 67; iii. 141, 181; iv. 84, 114, 160, 642.
.... Raulston, iv. 201.
.... Matthew, ii. 313.
.... Richard, ii. 16.
.... Robert de Cairney, i. 448; ii. 162, 375, 376, 377; iii. 96; iv. 387.
.... Thomas Lauder, i. 284; iii. 8, 324, 327; iv. 79.
.... William Sinclair, i. 627; iii. 212; iv. 612.
..... Dean of, Alexander Inglis, iii. 52, 115, 164, 276, 314, 347, 357, 511, 522, 580.
..... Treasurer of, R., i. 293.
Dunlop, Johannes, iv. 544.
Dunmohoy, Robertus, iv. 323.
Duppol, R. de, ii. 285.
Durame, Henry, iv. 556.
Durrisder, Johannes de, Cancellarius et Camerarius Regalitatis Moraviae, ii. 37.
Durward, see Hostiarius.
..... Alan, iv. 691, 693, 697.
.... Justiciary of Scotland, iii. 313.
..... Colin, iv. 694.
..... Thomas, iv. 149, 691, 693, 694.
Duthac, St., i. 206.
Duthie, William, iv. 21.
Dychton, Willelmus de, Canonicus, ii. 195.

Edenham, Stephanus de, ii. 279.
..... Thomas de, Clericus Aberdonensis, i. 502.
Edinburgh (Holyrood), Abbot of, William, i. 336.
..... Bishop of, Dr. William Forbes, i. 49.
Edmesten, Willelmus, de Lintrethyn, iv. 736.
Edmiston, Sir James, of That Ilk, i. 121, 647.
Edmond, George, ii. 350.
..... John, Knight, ii. 263.
Edmonstona, Johannes de, Miles, ii. 130, 131.
Edward, see Aberdeen, Bishop of.
..... Andreas, ii. 262.
Edwardus, ii. 19, 20.
..... Canonicus, i. 292.
.... de Aberdeen, i. 565, 566; ii. 18, 21.
.... de Elgin, ii. 193.
.... Moraviensis, ii. 170, 280, 285, 287, 288, 304.
..... Capellanus Willelmi Episcopi Sancti Andree, i. 176, 257.
..... Clericus Episcopi Aberdonensis, iii. 178.
Egberd, Gerardus fitz de, iv. 174.
Egew, Robertus, Notarius, iii. 17, 18, 106, 108.
Eglinton, Comes de, Hugo, iii. 110, 185, 349.
..... Hugo de, Miles, i. 539, 540, 550.

Ego, Filius Fergusii, ii. 10, 11.
Eistoun, Johannes, iv. 362.
Eld, Johannes, iv. 348.
Eldar, Frater Adamus, ii. 237, 238.
..... Andrew, Presbyter, iii. 91, 124; iv. 120.
..... John, i. 389; iv. 31, 32, 555.
Eleis, James, iv. 471, 782.
Elgin, Andreas de, ii. 304.
..... Augustinus de, ii. 155, 282, 283.
..... Matheus de, Canonicus Moraviensis, ii. 287.
..... Frater Robertus de, ii. 247.
Eliot, Johannes, de Balwoley, iii. 122.
Elizabeth, wife of Robert I., i. 210; ii. 137.
Ellem, John, see Kinloss, Abbot of.
Ellemers, Robertus de, i. 299.
Ellon, Scologi de, i. 310, 311, 312; iii. 4, 5.
Elmslie, Adam, iv. 479, 480.
..... Alexander, i. 382.
..... John, iii. 430.
..... Patrick, iv. 347.
..... Thomas, i. 382.
..... William, Reader at Ruthven, ii. 152.
Elphinstone, Lady, Elizabeth Barley, iv. 278.
..... Lord, Alexander, i. 170; ii. 184; iii. 420, 581; iv. 230, 231, 232, 233, 246, 247, 253, 255, 262, 263, 264, 266, 272, 273, 279, 280, 281, 282, 283, 291, 474, 475, 740.
.... John, i. 531.
.... Robert, iv. 245, 255, 279, 280, 312, 475, 478, 748.
Elphinstone, Master of, Alexander, ii. 184; iv. 238, 239, 240, 246, 247, 253, 262, 263, 264, 272, 273, 280, 281, 282, 283, 291, 478, 748.
..... of Glack, i. 110, 531, 581, 582.
..... of Logie, i. 71, 111.
..... of Wartle, i. 578.
..... Alexander, iv. 279.
.... Junior, iv. 238, 239, 240.
.... brother of Robert Elphinstone, iv. 478.
.... son of John Elphinstone of That Ilk, iv. 738, 739.
.... of That Ilk, iv. 223, 224, 225, 226, 227, 228, 229, 277, 739.
.... of Invernochty, iv. 217, 218, 219, 220, 222, 278.
..... Andrew, of Glack, i. 582; iii. 465, 466.
.... of Selmys, i. 563, 622; ii. 317, 333, 355; iii. 82, 178, 371 372, 465, 508, 538; iv. 64, 486, 738.
..... Arthur, of Glack, i. 582.
.... Vicar of Banff, ii. 126.
..... George, of Bellibeg, iv. 254, 273.
..... James, of Barnes, iv. 254, 273.
.... of Barnetoun, iii. 383.
.... of Drumnahove, iv. 147.
.... of Glack, i. 531, 533.
.... of Invernauchtie, iv. 245.
.... of Logie, i. 531.
..... John, iv. 232.
.... see Monymusk, Prior of.

Elphinstone, John, see Monymusk, Coadjutor of Monastery of.
.... of That Ilk, iii. 420.
.... Knight, iv. 217, 218, 277, 738.
.... of Artht, ii. 355.
.... of Erthe, Knight, iii. 372.
.... of Glack, i. 512.
..... Sir John, of Logie, i. 536.
.... of Pittendrich, Knight, iv. 255.
..... John, of Pittendrich, iii. 169.
.... Parson of Invernochty, iv. 478, 778, 779.
.... Prebendary of Invernochty, iii. 229, 352, 354, 381, 497.
..... Laurence, iii. 56.
..... Nicholas, of Glack, iii. 451, 465.
..... Robert, iv. 233.
.... see Aberdeen, Treasurer of.
.... Parson of Kincardine, iv. 229.
..... Simon, iii. 466, 467.
..... William, iii. 56.
.... see Aberdeen, Bishop of.
..... Brother William, iv. 29, 32.
..... William, of Glack, iii. 466, 467.
.... Parson of Clatt, iv. 229.
.... Prebendary of Clatt, iii. 385, 419.
.... Provost of Bothwell, iii. 466.
Elrick, Andrew, ii. 433.
..... John, ii. 433.
Emery, Gilbertus, Vicarius de Fetteresso, iii. 462.
Englat, St., i. 329; iii. 57.
Enverkype, William of, iv. 395.
Erale, Alexander, Monachus de Aberbrothock, ii. 128.
Erchad, see Irchard.
Ergadia, see Argyle.
Ermengarde, wife of William the Lion, i. 246, 336.
Errol, Countess of, Elizabeth, i. 389, 390; iii. 140, 151.
.... Mary, i. 376.
..... Earl of, Charles, i. 376; iii. 158.
.... Francis, i. 376, 519; ii. 348, 349; iii. 126, 131, 157; iv. 640.
.... George, i. 460; ii. 347, 348; iii. 18, 19, 20, 21, 22, 23, 156, 328; iv. 370.
.... Gilbert, iii. 157; iv. 81.
.... William, i. 356, 360, 364, 377, 378, 386, 395, 427, 428, 456, 457, 460; ii. 131, 331, 343, 344, 345, 346, 401, 403, 404, 405, 429, 430; iii. 9, 10, 11, 12, 13, 15, 19, 38, 39, 40, 41, 51, 69, 91, 92, 96, 100, 102, 105, 113, 122, 123, 124, 125, 128, 136, 137, 138, 139, 140, 147, 148, 149, 150, 153, 154, 155, 164, 172, 305, 375, 408, 417, 522; iv. 35, 45, 82, 96, 206, 212, 261, 406, 632, 638.
..... Master of, Andrew, i. 383, 385, 424; ii. 395, 396; iii. 20, 21, 22, 128, 129; iv. 638.
.... William, ii. 355, 356, 404, 405; iii. 20, 29, 42. 127, 139.

Erskine, Lord, Alexander, iii. 51, 53, 54, 104, 107; iv. 305, 306, 307, 737.
.... John, i. 170; iii. 111, 116, 349; iv. 97, 234, 235, 236, 237, 262, 273, 276, 308, 317, 746, 747, 749.
.... Robert, iv. 205, 206, 207, 208, 209, 210, 211, 212, 234, 257, 258, 259, 261, 262, 275, 293, 302.
.... Thomas, i. 281; ii. 343; iii. 51, 145, 147, 374, 578; iv. 89, 202, 203, 205, 206, 212, 214, 221, 254, 256, 258, 259, 260, 261, 262, 271, 275, 277, 280, 293, 297, 300.
..... of Gogar, i. 531.
..... of Pittodrie, i. 111, 532, 533, 536, 580, 642.
..... Alan, iv. 395, 735.
..... James, i. 465.
.... see Aberdeen, Archdeacon of.
..... John, iii. 146.
.... of Kynnoule, Knight, iv. 191.
.... of Nesbit, Knight, iii. 54.
.... of Pittodrie, i. 532; iii. 422.
.... Exhorter at Old Aberdeen, i. 228.
.... Parson of Turriff, ii. 347.
..... Nicholas, iv. 202, 454.
..... Robert, see Aberdeen, Dean of.
..... Sir Robert, iv. 182, 187, 188, 189, 192, 193, 393.
Erskine, Robert, Knight, i. 392, 483, 538, 539, 550; ii. 140, 305, 351, 386; iii. 293, 531, 573; iv. 48, 85, 88, 156, 172, 195, 196, 199, 200, 374, 458, 718.
.... of Ellam, Knight, iii. 53.
..... Sir Robert, of Kelly, iii. 51, 141, 142, 143.
..... Robert, of Kynnoule, iv. 454.
..... Thomas, iv. 202, 735.
..... Sir Thomas, iv. 196, 198, 199, 200, 201, 393.
.... Lord of That Ilk, iv. 162, 167, 187, 188, 189.
..... Thomas, Knight, i. 290, 499; ii. 31, 99; iii. 93, 296, 297, 363; iv. 49, 163, 164, 165, 273, 319, 453, 642.
..... Sir Thomas, of Brechin, i. 532; ii. 347; iii. 349; iv. 561.
..... Thomas, of Pittodrie, i. 532.
..... Walterus de, iv. 198.
..... William, of Pittodrie, i. 527, 532; iii. 441.
Ertht, Willelmus de, Miles, ii. 264.
Erwene, see Irvine.
Espleyne, Thomas, ii. 184.
Etale, John of, iv. 378.
..... Simon de, see Aberdeen, Precentor of.
Ete, daughter of Gillmichel, iv. 548.
Ethernan, St., i. 133, 134, 451, 454, 455.
Ettlj, Andreas, i. 575.
Euas, Serviens Andree Episcopi Moraviensis, ii. 280.
Euerley, Johannes de, Canonicus Dunkeldensis, i. 295; ii. 57.

Eustache, Alexander, Reader at Kincardine, i. 229.
Eustachius, Vicarius de Inverness, ii. 197.
Eva, daughter of Gartnait, iv. 549.
Ewert, Robert, ii. 431.
Ewin, Alexander, Burgess of Aberdeen, iii. 555, 556.

FAILFURDE, Minister of, Robert, iii. 195.
Fairwadder, John, iv. 52.
Falconer, Alexander, husband of Mary, Countess of Errol, i. 376, 462.
..... George, of Haukartstone, iii. 541.
..... John, ii. 172, 261.
.... of Murreffstoune, iii. 588.
..... Walter, Presbyter of Brechin, ii. 430.
.... Notary, iii. 259.
Falloun, Andrew, iv. 598.
Fardil, Alexander, iv. 348, 367.
Farhard, Judex de Buchan, iii. 5.
Farme, Charles, i. 432.
Faro, St., i. 252; iii. 245, 246.
Farquhar, John, of Fonthill, i. 424.
..... Thomas, ii. 38.
..... William, ii. 50.
Farquharson of Allanacoich, i. 643.
..... of Auchindrein, i. 643.
..... of Auchlossin, i. 109.
..... of Balmurrel, i. 641; ii. 85.
..... of Coldarach, i. 643.
..... of Finzean, i. 110.
..... of Inveray, i. 36, 635, 641, 643; ii. 85.
..... of Invercauld, i. 110, 641, 642; ii. 85.
Farquharson of Monaltrie, i. 631, 641; ii. 85.
..... of Tullochcoy, i. 641; ii. 85.
..... Alexander, ii. 76.
.... of Inveray, i. 643.
.... of Invercauld, i. 642.
.... of Monaltrie, ii. 5.
..... Charles, i. 635.
..... Donald, of Monaltrie, i. 642.
..... Finlaw, of Invercauld, i. 642.
..... Francis, of Finzean, ii. 77.
..... John, of Invercauld, i. 642.
..... Robert, Minister of Kirkmichael, ii. 307.
..... William, Burgess of Aberdeen, iii. 216.
Farrendrath, Johannes de, ii. 217.
..... Malcolmus de, ii. 217.
Fayrlle, Willelmus de, de Brade, ii. 376.
Fechat, Gilbertus, Burgensis de Aberdeen, iii. 452, 453.
..... Matheus, Burgensis de Aberdeen, iii. 548.
Fedderat, Sir Magnus of, i. 189, 190; ii. 417.
..... Rogerus de, i. 190.
..... William, i. 189; ii. 417, 418; iv. 573, 574, 612, 613.
.... Portioner of Duffus, iv. 602, 603.
Feltoun, Andreas de, ii. 199.
Fenton, Elizabeth, i. 389, 390.
..... George of, i. 389, 390.
..... Jacobus, Vicarius de Tibbermuir, iii. 123, 138.
..... Johannes de, iii. 132.
..... Joneta de, iii. 121, 123, 124, 515; iv. 69, 70, 438, 591, 736.

Fenton. Margareta de, de Beufort, iv. 435, 436.
..... Thomas de. iv. 118.
..... Walter, of Baky. iii. 121; iv. 57, 68, 70, 591.
.... of Beufort. iv. 66, 435, 436, 437.
..... Willelmus de. ii. 341.
.... Dominus ejusdem, i. 363, 364, 448, 478, 479, 480; iii. 376; iv. 434, 435, 715.
..... William, of Baky, iii. 121, 132, 133.
Feolarg, Philippus de. i. 335; iii. 113.
Ferchardus, Vicarius de Fyvie, i. 194.
..... Filius Duncani, i. 197.
.... Durdany. i. 196.
Feredac mac Malbhricin. iv. 548.
Fergus (Fergusian). St., i. 244, 419, 420; ii. 397, 398, 399, 400.
Ferguson of Balmakelly, i. 412.
..... of Kinmundie, i. 110.
..... of Pitfour, i. 111, 398, 583.
..... Alexander, ii. 393, 394; iv. 62.
..... Andrew, i. 113.
..... Ego, Dominus de Uchtirarne, ii. 12.
..... James, ii. 185, 226, 243, 256.
.... of Pitfour, i. 398, 399.
..... John, ii. 226.
..... Patrick, iv. 480.
..... Robert, Vicar of Logie, iii. 241; iv. 402.
..... William, ii. 433.
Ferley, David of, iii. 5.
..... Megot of, iii. 5.
Ferne, Abbas de, Donaldus, ii. 384; iii. 526, 532.
Ferr. Henricus de. i. 625.
Ferrerius, Johannes, i. 188, 312; ii. 411.
Festo, Adam de. i. 340.
Fethy. David, i. 516.
Fiacre (Fittick), St., i. 252, 253; iii. 245.
Fife. Comitissa de, Isabella, ii. 31.
.... Johanna de Clare, ii. 29.
..... Earl of, Duncan, ii. 15, 16, 31, 37, 159, 234, 300, 301, 304, 391; iv. 550, 612, 693, 698.
.... Malcolm, i. 269; ii. 138, 259, 294, 302, 303, 304, 391; iv. 694, 695.
.... William Duff, ii. 260.
..... and Menteith, Earl of, Robert, see Albany, Duke of, Robert.
..... David, son of Duncan, Earl of, ii. 234, 259.
.... brother of Malcolm, Earl of, ii. 303.
.... son of Malcolm, Earl of, ii. 304.
..... Duncan, brother of Malcolm, Earl of, ii. 303.
Fincan. St., i. 596, 636.
Findark, Philip of. iii. 60.
Findlater, Earl of, James, i. 647, 648.
.... Patrick, i. 648.
..... Cuthbert, iv. 651, 677.
..... John, ii. 97; iv. 651, 677.
..... William, ii. 433.
Findon, Philippus de, i. 258.
Fingone, Lachlanus, de Moschreig, iii. 527.
Finlaus, Filius Mauchy, iv. 378.
Finlayson, David, ii. 261.

Finlayson, Thomas, iii. 34.
..... Walter, of Auchinleisch, iii. 124.
Finnian, St., i. 632.
Fintray, Sir John, N.P., ii. 405.
Firmatorio, Patricius de, see Fyvie, Custos de.
Flandres, Hugo, iv. 117.
..... Johannes de, Capellanus, ii. 199.
Fleming, Lord, John, iii. 203, 204; iv. 747.
.... Malcolm, iii. 195, 349.
.... Robert, iii. 202, 324, 514; iv. 68, 206, 212, 261.
..... Adam, iii. 263.
..... David, i. 235.
.... Knight, ii. 140, 227; iii. 444.
.... of Biggar, Knight, i. 503; ii. 351; iv. 87, 171, 172, 173, 458.
.... i. 484; iii. 93, 200, 201, 202.
..... James, of the Bord, iii. 201, 202.
..... John, Knight, i. 235, 340.
..... Malcolm, i. 235; iv. 403, 405, 406.
.... of Biggar, iii. 93.
..... Patrick, of the Bord, iii. 201.
..... Simon, i. 247, 625.
..... Thomas, i. 458; iii. 203.
.... Vicar and Reader at Fintray, i. 229.
Fluger, Alexander, iv. 347.
Flutere, John, see Kinloss, Abbot of.
Fodringhame, David, de Powry, i. 282.
..... Willelmus de, Miles, i. 288; 319.
Forays, Frater Alanus de, ii. 247.
Forbes, Lord, Alexander, i. 343, 344, 345, 353, 393, 610; iii. 269, 270, 404; iv. 34, 390, 395, 398, 408, 409, 410, 688, 689.
.... Arthur, i. 382; iii. 113; iv. 56, 58, 59, 146, 409, 410, 686, 687.
.... Duncan, iv. 372.
.... James, i. 234, 332, 345, 542, 600, 606, 607, 635; iii. 203, 424, 535; iv. 142, 341, 398, 399, 400, 401, 419, 424.
.... John, i. 487, 488, 531, 592, 608, 610; iii. 69, 81, 82, 105, 115, 116, 229, 305, 423, 524, 525; iv. 97, 143, 230, 313, 332, 409, 410, 411, 412, 413, 414, 415, 416, 417, 420, 421, 422, 423, 424, 441, 443, 491, 453, 656, 657, 771.
.... William, i. 170, 348, 482, 533, 607, 610, 611, 635; ii. 48, 146; iii. 113, 117, 118, 228, 229, 277, 278, 279, 499, 535; iv. 35, 82, 142, 143, 341, 371, 402, 403, 404, 405, 406, 407, 408, 419, 430, 446, 479, 534, 623, 624, 758, 760, 761, 763, 766, 767, 768, 769, 770.
..... Master of, Alexander, iv. 513, 534, 535, 687, 688.
.... Arthur, iv. 56, 58, 59, 143.
.... John, i. 610, 620; iv. 350, 415, 416, 497, 504, 760, 761, 763, 766, 767, 768, 769, 770.
.... William, iv. 316, 418, 420, 421, 534.

Forbes of Aberdour, i. 443.
..... of Auchorties, i. 334, 507.
..... of Auchrudie, i. 407.
..... of Badifurrow, i. 383.
..... of Balfluig, i. 110, 587.
..... of Balogie, i. 407, 636.
..... of Barnes, i. 550.
..... of Blackford, i. 110, 507.
..... of Blackton, i. 482.
..... of Boyndlie, i. 449, 450, 451.
..... of Corsinda, i. 635.
..... of Craigievar, i. 110, 245, 599, 600.
..... of Disblair, i. 110.
..... of Echt, i. 110, 636, 637.
..... of Foveran, i. 71, 110, 365, 366.
..... of Kincardine, i. 110.
..... of Knapperna, i. 444.
..... of Leslie, i. 334, 545, 550, 551.
..... of Logie, i. 531.
..... of Monymusk, i. 71, 171, 254, 545.
..... of New, i. 617.
..... of Pitnacalder, i. 488.
..... of Sheels, i. 636.
..... of Shives, i. 111.
..... of Tolquhon, i. 87, 629.
..... of Waterton, i. 111, 301, 307.
..... Abraham, iii. 535.
.... of Blackton, i. 599; iv. 56, 348, 349.
..... Alaster, iv. 450.
.... of Straithgarnick, iv. 769.
..... Alexander, i. 333, 591, 592, 601, 609, 612; ii. 369; iii. 66, 541; iv. 31, 36, 105, 137, 139, 140, 143, 168, 330, 373, 379, 380, 381, 382, 390, 415, 431, 448, 457, 458, 467, 656, 741, 762, 772, 773.
Forbes, Alexander, see Aberdeen, Bishop of.
..... Sir Alexander, Knight, i. 555, 610; iv. 86, 159, 178, 188, 381, 385, 386, 387, 389, 390, 391, 392, 395, 397, 398, 399, 407, 412.
.... of That Ilk, i. 482, 487; iv. 43, 49, 181, 188, 189, 190, 191, 194, 195, 340, 341, 371, 382, 383, 384, 385, 386, 387, 388, 391, 393, 394, 396, 397, 419, 454, 659.
..... Alexander, of That Ilk, Knight, i. 556; ii. 381; iii. 474, 534.
..... Captain Alexander, iv. 364.
..... (alias Spangare), Alexander, iii. 376.
..... Alexander, of Archballache, iv. 137.
.... of Auchanasy, iii. 381, 467; iv. 105.
... . of Auchintoull, iv. 137, 141, 143, 762.
.... of Blackfoord, i. 508.
.... of Boyndlie, ii. 445; iv. 71.
.... of Bradhauche, iv. 498.
.... of Brux, i. 167, 610, 637; ii. 358, 359; iv. 177, 381, 382, 416, 430, 438, 443, 444, 736, 750.
.... of Carnycullie, iv. 762.
.... of Enuernatie, iv. 761.

Forbes, Alexander, of Fingask, iv. 684.
.... of Foveran, i. 365, 370.
.... of Fyngeis, iv. 143.
.... of Groddie, iv. 741.
.... of Kinaldie, i. 114; ii. 344; iii. 404, 405, 458; iv. 105, 648, 656, 657.
.... and Pitsligo, Knight, iv. 105.
.... of New, i. 617; iv. 254, 273.
.... of Pitsligo, i. 109, 348, 437, 592, 606; ii. 382, 383; iii. 30, 404, 458, 459; iv. 105, 106, 113, 121, 143, 402, 658, 660, 661, 662, 663, 665, 666, 762, 769.
..... Sir Alexander, of Pitsligo, i. 436, 471, 617; iv. 104, 105, 442.
..... Alexander, of Tolquhon, i. 331, 333, 348, 635; iii. 63, 66; iv. 402, 405.
..... Sir Alexander, of Tolquhon, i. 330, 333; iii. 67, 208.
..... Alexander, of Towie, ii. 147, 333, 334, 335, 429, 430, 431, 445, 446, 774.
.... Sheriff of Aberdeen, iv. 207, 211, 259.
..... Captain Arthur, of Castle Forbes, Baronet, iv. 363, 364.
..... Arthur, i. 4, 35, 436, 437, 601, 608; ii. 257, 406; iii. 20, 21, 144, 145, 278; iv. 146, 318, 402, 407, 408, 426, 430, 649, 762.
.... of Balfour, iv. 482, 483, 484, 485, 761.
.... of Brux, i. 592.
Forbes, Sir Arthur, of Craigievar, i. 601; ii. 243.
..... Arthur, of Rerass, i. 321, 356, 436; ii. 446, 447; iii. 251.
.... of Meikle Warders, iii. 404.
.... Minister of Echt, &c., i. 227.
..... Christinus de, Miles, ii. 106; iv. 760.
..... David, i. 383; ii. 44, 353; iv. 357, 358, 359.
.... of Corse, i. 600, 607.
.... of Leslie, iii. 395.
..... Duncan, i. 333, 617; ii. 380; iii. 278, 279, 483; iv. 142, 168, 330, 332, 372, 379, 416, 438, 447, 472, 473, 474, 736, 758, 778, 779.
.... brother of William, Lord Forbes, iv. 479.
.... Canon of Aberdeen, iv. 379, 731, 732.
.... of Argethin, i. 587.
.... of Auchintoull, iii. 582; iv. 188.
.... of Boeth, iv. 762.
.... of Byth, iii. 542.
.... of Corsinda, i. 610, 635.
.... of Cultis, iv. 430.
.... of Drummalachie, i. 166, 592; iv. 330, 331.
.... of Finnieloist, iv. 762.
.... of Ledmaky, iv. 762.
.... of Lethintie, iv. 361.
.... of Little Johnsleys, iii. 406, 407.
.... of Monymusk, i. 170, 179, 181, 182, 184, 585; iii. 502; iv. 762, 763, 767, 769.

Forbes, Duncan, of Skene, iv. 454.
.... of Towie, iv. 440, 443.
.... Burgess of Aberdeen, iii. 249.
..... Elizabeth, iv. 388, 391, 392, 407.
..... George, i. 436, 437; iii. 30, 458, 559; iv. 347.
.... of Auchintoull, ii. 44; iii. 423, 539, 540; iv. 90, 331, 332, 431, 441.
.... of Corse, i. 607; iii. 427, 428.
.... of Kynmvkis, iv. 762.
.... of Skellatour, iv. 254, 273.
..... Gilbert, iv. 762.
..... Hector, i. 437.
..... Henry, of Kynellor, i. 290, 315, 575; ii. 11; iii. 14, 53, 64, 65, 78, 90, 94, 103, 126, 170, 221, 241, 260, 303, 315, 336, 340, 342, 419, 421, 446, 450, 458, 516, 519, 536, 551, 553, 563, 589, 591, 592; iv. 37, 50, 60, 78, 92, 111, 121, 401.
.... of Logie, i. 531.
.... of Thanistoun, i. 576; iv. 232, 469.
.... Burgess of Aberdeen, iii. 196.
.... Vicar of Alford, i. 587.
..... James, ii. 424; iii. 404, 518; iv. 105, 337, 340, 390, 395, 396, 397, 398, 419.
.... son of William, Lord Forbes, iv. 371.
.... of That Ilk, Knight, iv. 399.
Forbes, James, of Auchintoull, iv. 143, 333-335.
.... of Balquhamie, iv. 762.
.... of Cloak, iv. 140, 141.
.... of Corsinda, i. 635, 655; iii. 499; iv. 146, 541, 762.
.... of Cowlie, iv. 762.
.... of Craigtoun, iv. 762.
.... of Fechthill, iii. 535; iv. 662.
..... Lieut.-Colonel James, of Fowlls, iv. 329.
..... James, of Haughton, iv. 137.
.... of Knockonoch, iv. 364.
.... of Leslie, iii. 395.
.... of Lethinty, i. 437, 533.
.... of Tomadis, iv. 686, 687.
.... Notary, i. 630; iv. 328.
.... Parson of Forbes, i. 608; iii. 381.
.... Prebendary of Forbes, iv. 371.
.... Presbyter of Aberdeen, iv. 324.
..... John, i. 182, 353, 355, 382, 437, 587, 588, 637; ii. 4; iii. 203, 334, 404, 497, 552; iv. 56, 57, 58, 144, 146, 313, 314, 344, 347, 373, 385, 410, 411, 439, 440, 441, 442, 443, 450, 537, 624, 687, 717, 758, 762, 772.
.... son of William, Lord Forbes, iv. 534.
.... iii. 498.

Forbes, Sir John, Knight, i. 610; iii. 8, 203; iv. 168, 170, 188, 190, 373, 379, 390, 494.
.... of That Ilk, i. 330; iv. 372, 379, 381, 457, 458, 731.
..... John, of That Ilk, ii. 400; iv. 373, 374, 375, 378, 379, 467, 716.
.... of Abersnethok, iv. 762.
.... of Abircatie, iv. 762, 763.
.... of Ardmurdo, i. 166; iii. 468; iv. 762.
.... of Balfluig, i. 588; iv. 145.
.... of Barnis, i. 115; iv. 367, 446, 624, 741.
.... of Bonagask, iv. 137, 140.
.... of Boyndlie, iv. 762.
.... of Brux, i. 588, 592, 637; iii. 408, 510; iv. 56, 188, 254, 273, 313, 402, 441, 443, 444, 447, 448, 449, 474, 739, 741, 750, 751, 761.
.... Knight, iv. 401.
.... of Byth, iii. 483.
..... Dr. John, of Corse, i. 600, 607.
..... Sir John, of Craigievar, i. 245, 334, 599, 601, 607.
..... John, of the Cults, i. 592.
..... Sir John, of Druminnor, i. 436, 591, 610.
..... John, of Echt, i. 290, 315; iii. 193, 221, 257, 315, 385, 516, 533, 553; iv. 37, 769.
Forbes, John, of Finouch, iv. 762, 763, 769.
.... of Foveran, iii. 95.
.... of Fynnarsume, iii. 468.
.... of Gask, iv. 687.
.... of Leslie, iii. 396, 689.
.... of Little Abircatie, iv. 769.
..... Sir John, of Monymusk, iii. 504, 505.
..... John, of New, iv. 450, 762.
.... of Pitsligo, i. 114, 314, 315, 437; iii. 65, 78, 89, 105, 221, 256, 305, 375, 404, 458, 467, 468, 519, 521; iv. 56, 58, 59, 105, 106, 112, 113, 122, 143, 443, 624, 648, 656, 657, 658, 664, 665, 684.
..... Sir John, of Pitsligo, i. 439.
..... John, of Tillegony, i. 115; iv. 232, 469.
.... of Tolquhon, i. 282, 332, 500, 503; iii. 66.
..... Sir John, of Tolquhon, i. 87, 171, 330, 331, 531, 587, 610; iv. 385, 395.
..... John, of Towie, i. 612; iv. 238, 312, 356, 430, 446, 447, 448, 642, 762, 769, 773, 774.
.... of Tulligownens, iii. 64, 315, 516.
..... Sir John, of Waterton, iii. 31.
..... John, of Waterton, iii. 37, 38, 48, 85.
.... Fiar of Brux, iv. 315.
.... Master of Grammar School, i. 56.

Forbes, John, Minister at Alford, i. 52, 587.
.... Minister at Delph, iv. 364.
.... Portioner of Barnis, i. 116.
.... Provost of St. Giles, i. 610.
.... Stationer, Aberdeen, i. 53.
..... Malcolm, iii. 203, 404, 405; iv. 390.
.... of Tolquhon, i. 332; iii. 13, 63, 64, 65, 66, 302, 335, 551, 552; iv. 78, 94.
..... Ninianus, iv. 416.
..... Patrick, i. 119, 355, 600, 607; iv. 356, 756, 762, 769.
.... see Aberdeen, Bishop of.
..... Sir Patrick, i. 600.
..... Patrick, of Balquhainey, iv. 254, 273.
.... of Corse, see Aberdeen, Bishop of.
.... i. 610; iii. 117, 499; iv. 360, 757.
.... of Craigtoun, iv. 513.
.... of Fothirbiss, iv. 357, 358, 359.
.... of Pittallachy, i. 617; iv. 762.
..... Richard, ii. 395; iv. 398.
.... see Aberdeen, Dean of.
..... Robert, iv. 364, 561, 684, 762.
.... see Monymusk, Prior of.
.... of Foveran, iii. 95.
.... of Meikle Warders, iii. 434.
Forbes, Robert, of Monymusk, iii. 535.
.... of Rires, iv. 105.
.... Burgess of Aberdeen, iv. 762.
.... Hosier in London, i. 73.
..... Sir Samuel, of Foveran, Baronet, i. 546; iv. 382.
..... Thom, of the Loch, i. 592, 637.
..... Thomas, iv. 330, 335, 405.
.... of Auchinhamper, ii. 163; iv. 143.
.... of Auchry, i. 333.
.... of Elrok, iv. 762.
.... of Shettocksley, iii. 217.
.... of Tolquhon, iii. 66, 67.
.... of Waterton, i. 308; iii. 31, 37, 48.
.... Ballivus de Mar, iii. 583.
.... Notary, iii. 423.
.... Wadsetter of Gavile, i. 398.
..... Seigneur Thomasio, i. 50.
..... Walter, i. 355, 599.
.... of Tolquhon, i. 333.
.... Parson of Abbotroulle, i. 351, 352; iii. 458.
..... Dr. William, see Edinburgh, Bishop of.
..... William, i. 171, 437, 587, 588; iii. 459, 502; iv. 46, 56, 57, 82, 326, 334, 335, 338, 339, 361, 441, 445, 535, 657, 740, 762.
.... Knight, iv. 188, 390, 394.

Forbes, Sir William, Baronet, iv. 362, 363.
..... William, son of William, Lord Forbes, iv. 534.
.... of Ardgeith, iv. 762.
.... of Ardmurdo, i. 166.
.... of Auchanasie, iv. 762.
.... of Barnes, iv. 312, 514, 762, 769.
.... of Brunthill, iv. 769.
.... of Chapelhill, iv. 769.
.... of Cluny, iv. 762.
.... of Corse, i. 167, 170, 599, 600, 601, 607; iii. 401; iv. 364, 757, 762, 769.
.... of Corsinda, i. 171, 586, 588, 635; iii. 467, 487, 488, 517; iv. 56, 58, 146, 147, 350.
.... of Craigievar, i. 601; iv. 361, 364.
..... Sir William, of Craigievar, i. 51, 245, 597, 601; iii. 242, 401, 406.
..... William, of The Daach, i. 437, 617.
.... of Fetterbus, iv. 761, 763.
.... of Fingask, iii. 467, 468.
.... of Hill Bray, iv. 762.
.... of Keythmoir, ii. 261.
.... of Kildrummy, i. 166, 592.
.... of Kinaldie, i. 363; ii. 380, 381; iii. 404; iv. 86, 113, 122, 385, 388.
.... Knight, i. 392, 393, 556; iii. 141, 142, 143, 404, 521.
Forbes, Sir William, of Kinaldie and Pitsligo, iv. 390.
..... William, of Leslie, i. 545; iii. 396, 483.
.... of Melgon, iv. 105, 659.
.... of Manie, iv. 360, 361, 362.
.... of Monymusk, i. 184, 185.
..... Sir William, of Monymusk, i. 584; iii. 249, 503, 504.
..... William, of New, i. 618.
.... of Pitsligo, i. 437, 533; iii. 404, 467; iv. 659, 660, 661, 662, 663.
..... Sir William, of Pitsligo, i. 436, 439, 610.
..... William, of Polflig, iv. 146.
..... Sir William, of Reras, Knight, iv. 413.
..... William, of Sawok, iv. 761.
.... of Shettocksley, iii. 217.
.... of Tolmadis, iv. 137, 141.
.... of Tolquhon, i. 330, 332, 333, 353, 354, 355; iii. 17, 18, 40, 41, 65, 66, 208, 375, 551, 552; iv. 56, 58, 59, 498, 762.
.... of Towie, iii. 52, 105, 276, 305, 423, 449, 510; iv. 216, 217, 313, 314, 342, 343, 428, 429, 438, 439, 440, 441, 738, 741.
.... of Tullagony, iv. 762.
.... Chaplain, iii. 222.
.... Merchant, iv. 360.
.... Minister at Fraserburgh, ii. 392.
.... Minister of Mortlach, ii. 258.
.... Notary, iv. 139.

Forbes, William, Provost of Sanct Gelis Kirk, i. 332.
.... Reader at Cushnie, iv. 337.
Fordice, Gilbertus, iv. 592.
Fordiss, Jacobus, de Bogtoun, iv. 131.
..... Willelmus, ii. 229.
Fordun, John of, iv. 186.
Fores, Andreas de, Presbyter Moraviensis, ii. 164.
Forest, Alexander, i. 311, 312.
.... Rector de Logymonteross, iii. 253.
.... Secretarius, iii. 228.
..... Gilbert, i. 302.
..... Simon of, i. 394.
Forester, Adam, i. 502.
.... Custos sigilli regis, ii. 31.
..... Sir Alexander, of Corstorphin, i. 436; iii. 466.
..... Andrew, ii. 433.
.... Monk of Lindores, iii. 391.
.... Presbyter of Kynnor and Dunbennan, ii. 168.
..... David of Laweroklav, iv. 76.
..... Sir Duncan, of Skipynck, iii. 213.
..... Gilbert, see Brechin, Archdeacon of.
..... Johannes, Camerarius Jacobi I., i. 555.
.... de Corstorphin, Camerarius, iv. 184.
.... de Libirtoun, Camerarius Scotiæ, Miles, iv. 159.
..... Sir John, Chamberlain, ii. 372, 382; iii. 167, 365, 370; iv. 115, 117, 178, 185.
Forester, Nevi, ii. 140.
..... Thomas, of Giblestoune, iii. 84.
..... Walterus, Canonicus Aberdonensis, ii. 140, 227.
.... Burgensis de Banff, iii. 435.
..... William, Baillie of Frendraught, i. 525.
Foret, Robertus, de eodem, iii. 398.
Forfar, Alexander, Priest, iii. 103.
..... Walterus de, iv. 85.
Forman, Sir Robert, of Lathie, iii. 502.
Forrett, Thom, of That Ilk, i. 314.
Forsyth, Henricus, Prebendarius de Monymusk, iii. 443.
..... Johannes, de Dykis, iii. 196, 197.
..... Robertus de, iv. 34.
..... Frater Willelmus, ii. 237, 238.
Fotheringham, Johannes, i. 515, 516; iii. 122.
..... Nicholaus, i. 516.
..... Patricius, ii. 237, 366.
..... Thomas, de Powry, iii. 511, 514.
Fotin, St., i. 255, 256, 262.
Foty, Johannes de, i. 423.
..... Laurencius de, i. 423; ii. 419; iii. 43; iv. 722.
Foulis, James, iv. 97.
.... of Colintoun, iii. 195, 349, 351, 360.
..... Nicholas, iv. 324.
..... William, Keeper of the Privy Seal, ii. 372; iii. 167, 365; iv. 117.
Fowler, Willelmus de, custos sigilli privati Jacobi I., i. 555.
..... William, i. 573.

Francigena, Walterus, i. 566.
Franx, Willelmus, iv. 583.
Fraser, Lord, Alexander of Muchalls, i. 637.
.... Andrew, iv. 71, 126, 127, 128, 129, 130.
.... John, ii. 266.
Fraser of Broadland, i. 425.
..... of Durris, i. 71, 110.
..... of Inverallachie, i. 110, 637.
..... of Memsie, i. 451.
..... of Muchalls, i. 238, 412, 637.
..... of Pitmurchie, i. 111.
..... of Staniewood, i. 607.
..... of Strechin, i. 111, 409, 410.
..... of Tyrie, i. 449.
..... Alexander, i. 258, 259, 353, 380, 381, 394; ii. 328, 360; iii. 527, 529, 530; iv. 92, 93, 95, 96, 99, 122, 123, 125, 127, 134, 279, 385, 611, 651.
..... Sir Alexander, ii. 37, 340, 350, 351, 375; iv. 87, 113, 114, 642, 760.
..... Alexander, of Auchterdurris, iii. 306, 307.
.... of Cluny, i. 280; ii. 49.
.... of Colly and Durris, Knight, iii. 362, 364, 365.
..... Sir Alexander, of Cowie, i. 470; ii. 352.
.... of Durris, i. 52, 76; iii. 284.
..... Alexander, of Durris, i. 115, 118, 282; ii. 61; iii. 361, 362, 363, 365, 367, 586.
.... Younger of Durris, iii. 17, 18.
Fraser, Sir Alexander, of Fraserburgh, iv. 121, 651, 653, 654, 676, 684.
..... Alexander, of Inverallochie, iv. 134.
.... of Memsie, iv. 684.
.... of Outlaw, iv. 635.
.... of Percew, i. 344.
.... of Pettoulie, i. 115; iv. 101, 102, 103, 104, 649, 683.
..... Sir Alexander, of Philorth, i. 431, 432, 449, 524; ii. 328, 352, 360, 391; iii. 298, 299, 304, 526, 527, 529, 530, 577, 578; iv. 87, 88, 90, 91, 125, 373, 378, 650.
..... Alexander, of Philorth, i. 19, 289, 299, 380, 387, 431, 433, 448, 484, 485, 540; ii. 366, 375, 377, 378; iii. 72, 73, 307, 471; iv. 85, 89, 90, 91, 92, 93, 94, 97, 98, 99, 100, 101, 102, 113, 124, 125, 128, 129, 212, 261, 577, 585, 624, 635, 642, 645, 646, 647, 648, 649, 650, 651, 652, 654, 657, 683, 684, 685.
.... Younger of Philorth, ii. 392; iii. 304; iv. 120, 121, 176, 651.
.... of Strathekyn, Knight, ii. 73.
.... Burgess of Aberdeen, iii. 217.
.... Chamberlain of Scotland, i. 196; ii. 106; iii. 212, 292, 293, 313, 316, 317, 546.
.... Minister of Inveravon, ii. 294.
.... Sheriff of Aberdeen, Knight, i. 317, 500; iii. 45, 93.

Fraser, Alexander, Sheriff of Aberdeen. iv. 443.
.... Sheriff-Clerk of Aberdeen, iii. 188.
..... Andrew, i. 512; iv. 104, 121. 127, 651, 676.
.... of Kilmondi, iv. 657.
.... of Staniewood, Knight, iii. 157, 303, 335, 340, 448, 551.
.... of Staniewood, i. 118. iii. 220, 221, 222; iv. 90, 92, 94. 310.
..... Archibald, iv. 95, 456.
..... Charles, of Inverallochie, i. 452.
..... David, iv. 577.
..... Duncan, ii. 263.
..... Edward, iv. 556, 587, 683.
..... Francis, of Findrock, ii. 5.
.... of Kinmundie, ii. 445.
..... George, iii. 129; iv. 92, 595.
.... of Kirktoun, iv. 579.
.... Minister of Bocharm, ii. 276.
.... Minister at Durris, i. 226.
.... Reader at Dilmaok, i. 229.
..... Gilbert, iv. 104.
..... Herbert, iv. 90.
..... Hugh, ii. 384.
.... of Lovat, ii. 175; iv. 90.
..... James, i. 523; ii. 74, 251; iv. 684.
.... brother of Lord Saltoun, i. 429.
.... Knight, ii. 197, 198.
.... of Frendraught, i. 289, 524, 540; ii. 217; iii. 471.
Fraser, James, of Memsie, i. 299; iii. 304.
.... of Tyrie, i. 450.
.... The Baillie, iii. 304.
.... Notary, iv. 289.
..... Johannes, Vicarius Pensionarius de Rathin, iv. 583.
.... Vocatus Unicorn. iv. 93.
..... John, i. 432, 433, 471, 512. 513, 524, 628; ii. 170, 171, 172, 355; iii. 195, 221, 304; iv. 92, 96, 99, 101, 103, 104, 121, 122. 577, 625.
.... Junior. ii. 406.
.... Dean of Restalrig, iv. 212, 316; iii. 213, 214.
.... of Ardendracht, i. 380. 381.
.... of Ardglassie, iv. 93.
.... of Cowie and Durris, ii. 352.
.... of Forglen, i. 289, 379, 502, 513; iii. 93. 295; iv. 378.
.... of New Forrest, iv. 88, 104.
.... of Querrelbus, iv. 121, 657, 676.
.... of Westeressentoly, iii. 355.
..... Margareta, Domina de Ardendracht et Auchleuchry, i. 382.
..... Michael, of Staniewood, iv. 762.
..... Sir Patrick, of Durris, ii. 4, 30.
..... Robert, iv. 104, 587.
.... Minister at Kynnour, ii. 151.

Fraser, Simon, i. 340.
..... Thomas, i. 404; iv. 125, 127, 577, 585, 586, 658.
.... of Corntoun, i. 289, 512; iii. 266; iv. 198, 378.
.... of Durris, iii. 129, 195.
.... of Kirktoun, iv. 635.
.... of Knokie, iv. 587.
.... of Kinmondy, iii. 551.
.... of Newforest, iii. 14.
.... of Staniewood, i. 283, 315; ii. 45, 360; iii. 14, 15, 33, 52, 65, 78, 105, 193, 221, 257, 276, 305, 315, 375, 384, 448, 449, 450, 516, 519, 533, 535; iv. 40, 95, 111, 469.
.... of Strechin, i. 409; ii. 391, 392, 393; iv. 587, 588, 686.
.... Younger of Strechin, ii. 393.
..... Walter, i. 573; iv. 647, 649, 684.
..... William, i. 512; ii. 45, 352, 434; iii. 334, 335; iv. 92, 93, 94, 104, 134, 140, 143, 587, 658, 732.
.... Knight, iii. 355.
.... of That Ilk, iv. 644.
.... of Brodland, i. 426.
.... of Durris, iii. 301, 306, 307, 361, 364, 367, 541, 586; iv. 78.
.... of Kirkton, iii. 304.
.... of Newforest, iv. 125.
.... of Petoulie, iv. 104.
..... Sir William, of Philorth, i. 314, 436; ii. 361, 362; iii. 14, 33, 42, 52, 64, 70, 89, 91, 94, 105, 126, 151, 170, 260, 276, 305, 315, 335, 375, 383, 408, 418, 448, 449, 516, 529, 530, 589, 590, 592; iv. 50, 60, 85, 86, 87, 95, 121, 123, 124, 442.
Fraser, William, of Philorth, ii. 351, 354, 355, 356, 376, 377, 378, 379, 380, 381, 404; iii. 304, 364, 534, 576, 577; iv. 113, 382, 643, 644.
.... of Technmure, iv. 683, 685.
.... Notary, iv. 577, 583, 635, 648.
French, Alexander, i. 318.
Frendraught, Domina de, Joneta, iii. 114, 589.
..... Viscount of, James, i. 519; iii. 592.
..... Duncan, iv. 606.
.... Chevalier, ii. 321.
.... Knight, i. 340, 523.
..... Sir Henry, ii. 321.
..... Henry, i. 524.
..... Johannes, i. 523; ii. 322.
..... Malcolmus, i. 523; ii. 321, 322.
..... Michael, ii. 191, 192, 322.
..... Sir William, i. 521; ii. 321.
Freskyn, Hugo, ii. 191, 192.
Freskynus, Dominus de Duffus, iv. 74.
Freuill, Henricus de, i. 548.
Frost, Willelmus, ii. 45.
Fullerton of Aberuthven, i. 324.
..... of Dudwick, i. 110, 307.
..... David, i. 324.
..... Galfridus de, i. 324.
..... Colonel James, of Dudwick, iii. 49.
..... John, i. 324.
.... of Dudwick, i. 308.
..... alias Udny, John, iii. 49.

Fullerton, Robert, i. 282.
..... Walter, i. 382.
..... William, i. 324.
Fultoun, Donaldus, Notarius, iv. 562.
Fumac, St., ii. 253.
Futhes, Alan of, iii. 93.
.... Canon of Murray, iii. 464.
..... Andrew, iv. 394.
..... Fergusius de, iii. 112.
..... Johannes, ii. 317; iii. 93, 112; iv. 394.
.... de Rothybirsbane, ii. 326; iv. 88.
..... Lanslotus, ii. 328.
..... William, iv. 42.
Futtor, Thomas, ii. 261.
Fyfe, John, i. 514, 605; iii. 93. 334; iv. 342, 454.
.... of Essintuly, ii. 30.
.... Provost of Aberdeen, i. 208, 256, 283; ii. 327; iii. 258, 270, 272, 324.
.... Receiver of the King's Rents, i. 357, 498.
.... Burgess of Aberdeen, i. 393.
..... Sir Patrick, Vicar of Aberchirder, ii. 221.
..... Frater Thomas de, ii. 247.
..... Thomas, of Essintuly, iii. 356, 357.
.... Burgess of Aberdeen, i. 457.
Fyngask, John of, iii. 423.
Fynny, Alexander, iv. 54.
..... David, iv. 42.
.... Burgess of Aberdeen, iii. 184, 558.
Fynny, James, ii. 433.
..... John, iv. 782.
..... Thomas, Notary, iv. 526
..... William, i. 113; ii. 433.
Fyvie, Custos de, Albertinus, i. 195. 197.
.... Johannes Sewir, i. 198.
.... Patricius de Firmatorio, i. 198.
..... Prior of, Albertinus, iii. 545. 547.
.... Alexander Masson, ii. 299; iii. 549.
.... James Heryng, iii. 549.
.... Sir John of Anderstoun, iii. 266.
.... John of St. Andrews, i. 198; iii. 548.
.... Malcolm Bridy, i. 198, 199, 200; iii. 548.
..... Henricus de, ii. 326.
..... John of, iv. 188.

Gadkrar, Thomas, Parson of Murthlack, ii. 252.
Galbraith, David, iv. 193.
..... Patrick, iv. 190, 201.
..... Peter, Notary, iv. 483.
Gald, Andreas, Officiarius in Balwany, ii. 261.
..... Jacobus, ii. 261.
Galfridus, Capellanus, ii. 120, 302.
..... Capellanus Mathei Episcopi Aberdonensis, i. 292.
..... Capellanus Willelmi Episcopi Sancti Andree, i. 176.
..... Frater Predicator, ii. 139.

Galichtly, John, iv. 428.
Galloway, Bishop of, David Arnot, iii. 110, 185.
.... George Vaus, iii. 473.
.... Henry, iii. 349.
.... John Gordon, i. 305.
.... Ninian, iii. 98, 327, 522; iv. 69.
.... Thomas Spence, i. 427, 542; iii. 513; iv. 68, 77.
..... Alexander, Chaplain of Collihill, iii. 370, 371, 372.
.... Parson of Kinkell, i. 126, 151, 156, 310, 563, 572, 573, 655, 656; iii. 313, 352, 409, 443, 564, 565; iv. 99.
.... Goldsmith in Aberdeen, i. 411.
..... Johannes, Commissarius Aberdonensis, iii. 490.
.... Prebendarius de Dummaok, ii. 365.
.... Presbyter, iii. 128.
..... William, i. 655; iii. 409.
Gallsych, Andrew, Parson of Slains, i. 196; iii. 129, 546.
Galmock, Thomas, Mair of Kincardine, iii. 269.
Galt, Allanus, Canonicus de Monymusk, iii. 489, 490, 491, 492, 493, 494, 495, 496.
Galterus, Capellanus, ii. 121.
.... Mathei Episcopi Aberdonensis, i. 154.
Gamel, Ostiarius, iii. 5.
Gamelus, Clericus, iv. 3.
Garden of Banchory, i. 488.
..... of Migstrath, i. 634.
..... of Troup, i. 398, 488, 489.
Garden, Alexander, i. 282, 514.
..... Dr. Alexander, of Charlestown, South Carolina, ii. 77.
..... Alexander, of Troup, i. 99.
.... Minister of Birse, ii. 77.
.... Portionarius de Latheris, iii. 563, 564, 565.
..... Andreas, Clericus Deputatus de Inchis, iii. 402.
.... ii. 365.
..... David, ii. 264.
.... de Kynansith, iii. 84.
..... Georgius, Portionarius de Durlatheris, iii. 567.
..... Gilbert, Minister at Cullen, &c., i. 227.
..... Johannes, i. 464; iii. 437; iv. 681.
.... Canonicus Catanensis, ii. 388.
.... de Blakfurd, iii. 563.
.... de Borowfeld, i. 345.
.... de Durlatheris, iii. 33, 64, 65, 78, 90, 103, 193, 260, 335, 384, 385, 418, 437, 448, 533, 563, 589, 591, 592.
.... de Latheris, ii. 11; iv. 50, 442.
..... John, Notary, iii. 139.
..... Patrick, of That Ilk, i. 347; iii. 511.
..... Robert, of Folay, iii. 557.
..... Thomas, i. 484.
.... of Badwhase, i. 344.
.... Commissary Clerk of Aberdeen, i. 355.
Gardenar, Alexander, Judicator curiae vicecomitis de Aberdeen, i. 283.
..... John, iv. 474.

Gardenar, John, Chaplain, iv. 740.
.... Notary, iii. 497.
..... Nicholas, iv. 367.
Gardropa, John de, i. 232, 455.
Gargil, Bernardus, Vicarius de Banff, ii. 127.
Garnecolli, Simon de, i. 624.
Garioch, Earl of, David, see Huntingdon, Earl of.
.... Thomas Stewart, iv. 208.
..... of Kinstair, i. 88.
..... Alexander, of Kirktoun of Bathelnie, iv. 147.
.... Minister at Cushnie, iv. 137, 687.
.... Reader at Bathelnie, i. 229.
.... Reader at Monycabok, i. 230.
..... Andreas de, i. 47; ii. 73; iv. 716, 717.
.... Miles, iv. 752.
.... Canonicus Aberdonensis, i. 196; iii. 546.
.... de Caskieben, ii. 36, 37; iii. 552; iv. 159, 374.
..... David, i. 573.
..... George, iv. 146.
.... of Little Endovie, iv. 141.
.... Portioner of Kinstair, iv. 137, 139.
..... Sir James, i. 196; ii. 36; iii. 224, 546; iv. 310.
..... James, iv. 142.
.... of Kilstair, iv. 56, 58, 59, 146, 350.
..... John, i. 382; ii. 45.
Garioch, John, Vicar of Kemnay, iii. 480, 481.
..... Peter, iv. 146, 686.
..... William, i. 573; iv. 139, 146.
.... of Kilstair, iv. 142, 769.
.... of Tillichetlie, iv. 137, 141, 146.
.... Burgess of Aberdeen, i. 582.
Garro, Brabnar, ii. 261.
Garroche, Donald, iv. 474, 475.
Garrow, David, iv. 474, 475.
Garthyne, Johannes de, dominus ejusdem, iv. 118.
Gartnait Mac Cannech, iv. 548.
Garrvus, Alexander, iv. 335.
Gaufridus, Clericus Mathei Episcopi Aberdonensis, ii. 17, 20.
..... Dapifer, iii. 5.
Gaw, Andreas, ii. 261.
Gawcot, Peter, i. 318.
Geafle, Gervas de, i. 176.
Geddes, Dr. Alexander, ii. 143.
..... George, of Auchinhuiff, iv. 471, 782.
..... Dr. John, i. 204.
..... Matheus de, Rector Ecclesiæ Beatæ Mariæ de Foresta, ii. 376.
Gellie of Blackford, i. 507.
Gentilman, William, i. 382.
Gerach, Willelmus, iv. 334.
Gerard of Walkerhill, i. 111.
..... Alexander, Reader at Dilmaok, i. 229.
..... Thomas, ii. 433.
Germanus Filius Leving, Burgensis Sancti Andree, ii. 72.
Gerraucht, William, of Canstair, iv. 762.

Gervasius, Serviens Andree Episcopi Moraviensis, ii. 280.
Gerwess, Georgius, iii. 346.
Ghgillecomded Mac Aed, iv. 550.
Gibb, Frater Alexander, iii. 251.
..... John, of Kinmouth, iii. 87.
..... William, iv. 483.
Gibson, Alexander, Clerk of Session, iv. 749.
..... James, i. 389, 390; iv. 130.
..... John, i. 303; iii. 240; iv. 131.
.... Chaplain of Murray, ii. 187.
.... Parson of Unthank, ii. 181, 188, 251.
.... Notary, ii. 250; iv. 109.
Gifford, Alexander, Dean of Dunbar, ii. 144, 145.
..... Andrew, i. 381; ii. 379, 381; iv. 389.
..... Hugo, ii. 16, 20; iv. 691, 692.
..... James, i. 516.
.... of Schirefhall, i. 524.
..... William, ii. 19, 20; iv. 691.
.... Burgess of Aberdeen, iii. 585.
Gilandre, Sacerdos, ii. 16.
Gilbertus, Comes, i. 496; ii. 129, 233.
..... Filius Roselini, i. 154.
..... Capellanus, ii. 170.
Gilbride, Filius Lamund, i. 408.
Gilchrist, John, Minister of Boharm, ii. 276.
.... Minister of Keith, ii. 243.
Gild, Jacobus, iv. 506.
Gilebrand, Lawrencius, Miles, i. 538, 549; ii. 10; iv. 156, 159, 374, 716, 723, 752.
Gilebrand, Lawrencius, i. 288.
Gilgour, Johannes, Presbyter, iii. 524.
Gille-Calline, Priest, iv. 548.
Gillecolaim Mac Muredig, iv. 548.
Gillecrist Mac Cormaic, iv. 548.
..... Son of Fingune, iv. 548.
..... Filius Gillekucongal, iv. 694.
Gillemor, Scolgo de Tarualont, ii. 18, 19.
..... Vicarius de Butharry, ii. 157, 187.
Gillendrias Mac Matni, iv. 550.
Gillespie, Cristianus, iv. 347.
..... Duncanus, iv. 348.
..... Johannes, Vicarius de Alford. iv. 536.
..... Richard, i. 382; ii. 44, 45.
Gilli-Petair Mac Donnchaid, iv. 549.
Gillmache, Johannes, ii. 262.
Gilquhame, Morgund, de Tempillande de Kilbethok. ii. 12.
Gilquhome, Morgundus, iv. 740.
Gilquhomson, Morn, iv. 474, 475.
Giroch, Jacobus, de Kinstair, iv. 334 335.
Glammis, Lord, Alexander, iv. 403, 405, 406.
.... George, ii. 338; iii. 336.
.... John, i. 114, 396; ii. 316, 338, 357; iii. 51, 154, 164, 213, 335, 336, 358, 398, 515; iv. 410, 417.
.... Patrick, i. 234, 381, 542, 606; ii. 401; iii. 8, 121, 324, 424; iv. 89, 119, 397, 398.
..... Master of, Thomas Lyon, iii. 640.

Glasgow, Archbishop of, Gavin Dunbar, ii. 229; iii. 349.
.... James Bethune, iii. 55, 81, 185; iv. 223, 574.
.... Dr. John Paterson, i. 305, 306.
.... Robert Blacader, i. 443; iii. 51, 164, 165, 213, 275, 357, 398; iv. 215.
..... Archdeacon of, Alexander Dick, i.210.
.... John Arous, iii. 98, 413, 472; iv. 69, 77, 78, 119.
.... Robert, i. 174.
..... Bishop of, Andrew Muirhead, i. 284; ii. 315; iii. 180, 232, 417; iv. 63.
.... John Cameron, ii. 372; iii. 167, 267, 365; iv. 117, 159, 178, 185, 193, 391, 392.
.... Laing, i. 608; iii. 114, 314, 347, 511, 522, 528, 579; iv. 63, 106, 214, 356.
.... Matthew Glendoning, i. 499; ii. 31, 99; iii. 165, 296, 297; iv. 164, 319.
.... Wishart, iv. 601, 602, 604, 609.
.... W., i. 257, 337.
.... Walter Wardlaw, i. 540.
.... William de Bondington, ii. 56, 57.
.... Lauder, iii. 96, 370.
.... Turnbull, iii. 403, 413; iv. 119, 196, 200, 201.
..... Dean of, James Lindsay, iii. 146, 148.
Glasgow, Dean of, Richard Muirhead, i. 263, 504; ii. 355; iii. 52, 69, 164, 165, 213, 220, 358, 398; iv. 490.
.... Thomas Waus, i. 427, 542, 606; iv. 77.
Glass, George, iv. 513.
..... John, iii. 298.
..... William, iv. 513, 516.
Glaster, Alexander, of Glak, ii. 223, 224; iii. 435, 436, 437, 462, 463, 464.
..... Andreas, iii. 317; iv. 342.
.... de Glak, i. 282, 514; iii. 460, 461, 464; iv. 330.
..... Murdacus, de Glak, ii. 163, 223.
.... de Lumgeir et Glak, iii. 460, 461, 464.
Glaswrycht, Thomas, ii. 199.
Glayecestre, Murdacus de, iv. 728.
Gledstanis, Willelmus, iii. 457.
Glen, Johannes, de Inchmartyn, Miles, iv. 179, 180.
..... Robert, i. 251.
Glenbachlet, Adam de, ii. 313.
Glencairn, Comes de, Willelmus, iii. 86.
Glendonwyne, Adam de, iv. 727.
..... Simon de, iv. 160.
Glenlivet, Lord, Charles, i. 634.
Glenluce, Abbot of, Walter, iv. 7, 14, 16, 18.
Glenmalwyn, Johannes, Burgensis de Aberdeen, ii. 328.
Glenning, John, i. 573.
Goak, Andrew, ii. 433.
Goblauch, Matheus dictus, iii. 417.
Godisman, John, ii. 432; iv. 471, 782.

Goffin, Johannes, de Maisoncello, iv. 370.
Golin, Willelmus de, i. 565.
.... Clericus Willelmi Episcopi Sancti Andree, i. 257.
Goodall, Walter, ii. 108.
Gordon, Duke of, Alexander, ii. 272.
.... Cosmo George, ii. 272.
.... George, ii. 272; iii. 505.
..... Lord, Alexander, i. 321, 456; ii. 308, 309; iii. 68; iv. 208, 474.
.... Seton, i. 16; ii. 161, 162, 270, 378, 379; iii. 317, 351, 517, 521, 577; iv. 125.
.... George, i. 38, 348, 587; ii. 48, 181; iii. 68, 550, 551; iv. 403, 404, 405, 406, 419, 527.
.... John, ii. 265, 266.
Gordon of Abergeldie, i. 36, 78, 110, 640, 641; ii. 85.
..... of Aberlour, ii. 290.
..... of Ardmelie, i. 265.
..... of Auchlyn, i. 110.
..... of Badenscath, i. 110, 507.
..... of Balbithan, i. 110.
..... of Baldornie, i. 615; ii. 185.
..... of Barak, i. 406.
..... of Barnes, i. 550.
..... of Brachlie, i. 640.
..... of Buckie, i. 648.
..... of Burthlaw, i. 366.
..... of Byth, i. 110.
..... of Cairnburrow, i. 530; ii. 184.
..... of Carnusie, i. 510.
..... of Cluny, i. 71, 532, 637; ii. 75.
..... of Clystirim, i. 648.
Gordon of Cocklerachie, i. 110, 475.
..... of Cowbardy, ii. 321.
..... of Craigellie, i. 110.
..... of Cults, i. 623.
..... of Dalpersie, i. 628.
..... of Dunlugus, i. 510.
..... of Edinglassie, i. 510.
..... of Ellon, i. 110.
..... of Faskine, ii. 290.
..... of Fechil, i. 362.
..... of Fyvie, i. 495.
..... of Gight, i. 110, 285, 493, 494, 495.
..... of Glenbucket, i. 613.
..... of Glengerack, ii. 243.
..... of Haddo, i. 71.
..... of Inverebrey, i. 322.
..... of Kinmundy, i. 412.
..... of Law, i. 111.
..... of Lesmore, i. 71, 111, 333.
..... of Letterfurie, i. 648.
..... of Logie, i. 425.
..... of Nethermuir, i. 406.
..... of Newbigging, i. 620.
..... of Newtoun, i. 556, 557.
..... of Newtyle, i. 111.
..... of Park, ii. 108.
..... of Pitlurg, i. 237.
..... of Renneshill, i. 111.
..... of Rothiemay, i. 507.
..... of Rothney, i. 551, 554, 556.
..... of Sheelagreen, i. 111, 556, 557.
..... of Strathawin, i. 437.
..... of Techmurie, i. 111, 433.
..... of Wardes, i. 554.
..... Adam, i. 16; ii. 159, 161, 168, 250, 251, 270.
.... see Murray, Precentor of.

Gordon, Adam, son of George, Earl of Huntly, iii. 68.
..... Sir Adam, ii. 186, 270.
.... of Auchindown, i. 243, 612, 621.
..... Adam, of Auchindown, iv. 761, 763, 766, 769.
.... of Glenbucket, iii. 423.
..... Sir Adam, of Park, ii. 107; iv. 254, 273.
..... Adam, Parson of Kinkell, i. 573; ii. 331; iii. 32, 480.
.... Notary, iv. 280.
..... Dr. Alexander, ii. 33.
..... General Alexander, ii. 190.
..... Sir Alexander, ii. 270.
..... Alexander, i. 599; ii. 149, 161, 261; iv. 37, 39, 456, 471, 562, 568.
.... see Aberdeen, Bishop of.
.... see Murray, Precentor of.
.... of Abergeldie, iv. 766.
.... of Baldornie, iv. 348.
.... of Blelock, iv. 254, 273.
.... of Boddom, iii. 409.
.... of Brodlandis, ii. 261.
.... of Coquharroch, iv. 782.
.... of Dunkintie, ii. 306; iv. 514.
.... of Kennerty, iii. 52, 65, 78, 103, 221, 276, 342, 449, 536; iv. 442.
.... of Kinmundie, i. 413.
.... of Knockinblewis, iv. 456.
.... of Logie, i. 426.
Gordon, Alexander, of Merdrum, iv. 316.
.... of Midmar, Knight, iv. 92.
.... ii. 28, 29, 221; iii. 242, 243, 299, 300; iv. 35.
.... of Mildare, ii. 248, 249.
.... of Overboddom, iii. 408.
.... of Oxhill, iv. 782.
.... of Perslie, ii. 251; iv. 530.
.... of Strathdoun, i. 628; ii. 181, 295; iii. 85, 116, 487; iv. 480, 482, 537, 657.
.... Advocate, iv. 570.
.... Minister of Inveravon, ii. 294.
.... Minister at Kirkmichael, ii. 151, 307.
..... Arthur, ii. 184; iv. 568.
..... Charles, iv. 570.
.... of Braco, iii. 474.
.... of Buthlaw, i. 413.
..... Duncan, iv. 561.
..... Elizabeth, heiress of, i. 151; ii. 270, 271.
..... Francis, of Craig, iv. 315, 316.
.... of Kirkhill, iv. 535.
.... Portioner of Kindraucht, iv. 560.
..... George, i. 119, 382, 617; ii. 214, 221, 333; iii. 197; iv. 348, 349, 457, 472, 552, 563, 568, 570.
.... of Abergeldie, iii. 105, 305.
.... of Auchmenzie, i. 592.

Gordon, George, of Baldornie, i. 599; ii. 260, 262, 267.
.... of Blairdynnie, iv. 490.
.... of Boddom, iii. 409.
.... of Cairnborow, ii. 366.
.... of Coclarachie, iv. 349.
..... Sir George, of Edinglassie, ii. 182, 260.
.... of Gight, iii. 71, 76.
..... George, of Gight, ii. 168; iii. 71, 76; iv. 768.
.... of Glengerach, ii. 242.
.... of Midmar, i. 314.
.... of Quisny, iv. 336.
.... of Schives, Knight, iii. 550, 551.
.... iv. 99, 234, 552.
.... of Gorbach, ii. 184.
.... of Terperse, iv. 254, 273, 534, 538.
.... of Tillachaudie, iv. 316.
.... son of George, Earl of Huntly, iii. 71, 72.
.... Burgess of Aberdeen, iii. 254.
.... Constable of Baidyenocht, ii. 225, 251.
.... Minister of Boharm, ii. 276.
.... Portioner of Kindrocht, iv. 683.
.... Reader at Drumdelgie, ii. 152.
..... Hugh, iv. 568.
.... of Cultis, iv. 513, 516.
.... of Kirkhill, iv. 535.
Gordon, Hugh, of Smythstoune, iv. 515.
..... Ingram, ii. 228.
..... Dr. James, iv. 567.
..... James, i. 116; ii. 261; iv. 63, 462, 471, 494, 533, 561, 570, 782.
.... son of George, Earl of Huntly, iii. 69.
.... see Murray, Chancellor of.
.... of Abergeldie, iii. 222; iv. 477, 782.
.... of Ardmeallie, iv. 81.
.... of Auchmull, iv. 57, 58, 465, 466.
.... of Auchmyling, iv. 39, 560.
.... of Carnbarrow, iii. 70.
.... of Colquhildstane, iii. 35, 244.
.... of Colquhondistane, i. 116; ii. 366; iv. 482.
.... of Craigtollie, iv. 530.
.... of Dunmoyis, iv. 540.
.... of Ellon, i. 308.
.... Younger of Fechil, i. 362.
.... of Fermaghtie, ii. 184.
.... of Haddoche, iv. 480.
.... of Haldo, iii. 20.
.... of Knokaspak, iv. 499, 500.
.... of Lesmoir, iv. 530, 531, 538, 539.
.... of Lunmay, iv. 540.
.... of Medlok, iv. 346.
.... of Methlick, ii. 366; iii. 35, 277, 279.
..... Sir James, of Park, ii. 96, 107, 184.

Gordon, James, of Techmurie, i. 434.
.... of Tulliangus, ii. 181; iv. 494, 495.
.... Canon of Aberdeen, iii. 227, 229.
.... Jesuit Priest, ii. 177.
.... Minister of Bellie, ii. 269.
.... Parson of Banchory-Devenick, i. 264.
.... Parson of Rothiemay, i. 433; ii. 226; iv. 568.
.... Prebendary of Banchory, iii. 354.
.... Prebendary of Lunmay, iii. 354, 381.
.... Prebendary of Rhynie, ii. 150, 179.
..... Dr. James, Roman Catholic Bishop, ii. 268.
..... John, ii. 149, 159, 160, 228, 248, 249, 261, 379, 433; iii. 70, 197; iv. 101, 335, 336, 339, 516, 533, 540, 562, 569.
.... see Galloway, Bishop of.
.... Knight, iv. 162, 378, 494.
.... of That Ilk, Knight, ii. 379; iii. 471.
.... i. 540; iv. 563, 564.
.... of Ardacht, ii. 251.
.... Portioner of Auchinstaynk, iv. 462.
.... of Auchleuchry, ii. 224, 393, 394; iii. 436, 437; iv. 63, 64, 471, 782.
Gordon, John, of Avachie, ii. 171, 172.
.... of Biruko, iv. 533.
.... of Botarie, i. 436, 618.
.... of Braco, iii. 474.
.... of Buckie, iv. 348.
.... of Carnburrow, ii. 184, 188, 259.
.... Apparent of Cairnburrow, iv. 775.
.... Fiar of Cairnburrow, iv. 450.
.... of Coldwells, i. 305.
.... of the Craig of Auchindoir, iv. 254, 273.
.... elder of Craig, iv. 459.
.... of Craigullie, ii. 188.
.... of Cushnie, iv. 333, 347.
.... of Fechil, iv. 567.
.... of Finlater, iv. 527.
.... of Glascoforest, iii. 188.
.... of Glenbucket, iv. 500.
..... Sir John, of Haddo, i. 324. 325, 326, 327, 328.
..... John, of Haddo, iv. 471, 472, 782.
.... of Hallhead, iv. 337.
.... of Kennertie, iii. 349, 350.
.... of Knockespack, iv. 500, 533.
.... of Lochinvar, Knight, iv. 767.
.... of Lumgair, i. 290; ii. 223, 250, 252, 366; iii. 70, 464, 521, 524, 553; iv. 37, 38, 39, 83, 122, 559, 560.
.... of Mamewlach, iii. 207.

Gordon, John, of Nethermuir, i. 407.
.... of Ogilvy and Finlater, ii. 267.
.... of Overboddom, iii. 408.
.... of Petger, ii. 367.
.... of Pettemarcus, iii. 512; iv. 38, 63.
..... Sir John, of Pitlurg, ii. 186; iii. 196, 197, 280; iv. 564, 567.
..... John, of Pitlurg, iii. 35, 157, 196; iv. 561, 562, 563, 564, 566, 677, 766.
.... of Potare, iii. 116.
.... of Rothiemay, i. 519; ii. 173.
.... Burgess of Aberdeen, ii. 250; iii. 197; iv. 562, 565.
.... Notary, iv. 560, 561.
.... Parish Clerk of Mortlach, ii. 262.
.... Preacher at Elgin, i. 64.
.... Presbyter of Murray, iv. 482.
.... Vicar of Keith, ii. 225, 243, 250, 251, 252.
.... Vicar of Philorth, iv. 96.
.... Vicar of Stirling, i. 518; iii. 560.
..... Leslie, Portioner of Wartle, i. 119.
..... Dr. Lewis, iv. 569.
..... Mr., Literarum Orientalium Professor, i. 236.
..... Mr., Minister of Alford, i. 536, 546, 550, 555, 559, 564, 571, 574.
..... Olipher, iv. 514.
Gordon, Patrick, i. 116; ii. 429; iv. 454, 455, 456, 489, 515, 569, 763, 766, 768.
.... of Auchindoun, Knight, ii. 295; iii. 157; iv. 767, 769.
.... of Auchmanye, iv. 488, 496.
.... of Badenscoth, iv. 535.
.... of Craigston, ii. 184.
.... of Haddo, i. 321; iii. 551, 554; iv. 63.
.... of Hallhead, iv. 337.
.... of Johnsleys, iv. 455, 456.
.... of Kincragie, iv. 513, 515, 516.
.... of Kirkhill, iv. 513, 516.
.... of Little Johnsleys, iii. 407, 408.
.... of Methlick, i. 321, 322; ii. 328; iii. 14, 52, 53, 70, 102, 103, 420, 473, 530.
.... Minister of Bellie, ii. 269.
..... Peter, of Ardmellie, ii. 426.
..... Richard, ii. 261.
..... Robert, ii. 317; iv. 101, 754, 755.
.... see Murray, Chancellor of.
.... of Fetterletter, i. 592; ii. 333; iii. 259.
.... of Gollachie, ii. 184.
.... of Halheid, iii. 35.
.... of Pitlurg, i. 237; ii. 261; iv. 39, 567, 569.
.... of Pitlurg and Straloch, i. 412, 433.

Gordon, Robert, of Udauch, iii. 510; iv. 63.
.... of Uthaw, i. 315; ii. 328, 332; iii. 14, 257, 408, 554.
..... Roger, i. 16.
..... Tam, of Rivan, ii. 186.
..... Thomas, ii. 228, 270, 379, 433; iv. 183, 471, 498, 540, 570, 657, 782.
.... of Aitloch, ii. 184.
.... of Boddom, iii. 409.
.... of Brarodach and Kennertie, iii. 347.
.... of Craig Elie, i. 429.
.... of Cluny, Knight, iv. 532.
.... of Dilspro, iii. 209.
.... of Kennertie, i. 119, 321; iii. 303, 348, 349, 350, 351; iv. 92.
.... of Sedyden, iii. 280.
..... Walter, of Westhall, iii. 188; iv. 495.
..... William, ii. 242, 262, 295, 307; iii. 85; iv. 349, 454, 455, 457, 516, 531, 535, 538, 539, 563, 567, 569, 577.
.... see Aberdeen, Bishop of.
.... see Caithness, Treasurer of.
.... see Murray, Chancellor of.
.... of Acsindendonald, iii. 518.
.... of Auchindoir, iv. 344, 456, 457, 776.
Gordon, William, of Badenscoth, i. 508.
.... of Balquhynochie, iii. 159.
.... of Craig, iv. 494.
.... of the Craig of Auchindoir, i. 635.
.... of Fochabers, iv. 499.
.... of Gight, ii. 271.
.... younger of Knokespok, iv. 147.
..... Sir William, of Lesmore, ii. 177, 260.
..... William, of Lesmore, iv. 318.
.... of Little Johnsleys, iii. 407.
.... of Netherdale, iv. 477, 782.
.... of Schives, iii. 14, 64, 68, 69, 71, 89, 151, 224, 340, 551, 558, 590; iv. 50.
.... of Tarparsie, ii. 251; iv. 316, 317, 513, 514, 515.
.... Apparent of Tulliangus, iv. 494.
.... Notary, iv. 482.
.... Parish Clerk of Tulynestyn, i. 628.
.... Parson of Duthell, iv. 234.
Gorlaw, Thomas, Notary, iii. 271.
Gourlay, Alexander, Capellanus de Newburgh, iii. 99, 100.
Gowen, Lawrencius de, iv. 160.
Goyd, Patrie, ii. 434.
Graham, Lord, Patrick, i. 427, 542; ii. 401; iii. 98, 327, 472; iv. 69, 77, 78, 80.
.... William, ii. 162; iii. 96.

Graham of Morphie, i. 166.
..... Alexander, ii. 361; iv. 209, 396, 437.
.... son of William, Earl of Montrose, iii. 249, 250, 251.
.... Notary, iii. 326.
..... Gilbert, Knight, i. 274; ii. 372.
..... John, iv. 67.
..... Patrick, Knight, iii. 93; iv. 164.
..... Peter, of Scatterty, iii. 525, 526.
..... Robert, i. 282.
.... of Inchmauchy, i. 393.
..... Sir Robert, of Morphie, Knight, i. 285; iii. 337.
..... Thomas, of Scatterty, ii. 360; iii. 527, 529.
..... Sir William, iii. 201, 231; iv. 173.
..... William, ii. 107.
.... Knight, iv. 452.
.... of Kincardine, Knight, ii. 36.
.... of Kincardine, iv. 174.
Grange, Lord, i. 402.
Grant of Aucholzie, i. 640.
..... of Ballindalloch, i. 532; ii. 294.
..... of Crichie, i. 494.
..... of Cullen, i. 71.
..... of Dunlugies, i. 482.
..... of Easter Elchies, ii. 290.
..... of Glenmorriston, ii. 291.
..... of Grantfield, i. 110.
..... of Monymusk, i. 111.
..... Alexander, ii. 290, 291.
.... of Alachie, ii. 289.
Grant, Alexander, of Arntullie, ii. 278.
.... of Ellachie, ii. 260.
..... Allan, iv. 333.
..... Sir Archibald, i. 585, 586.
..... Archibald, of Bellintom, ii. 278.
..... Charles, of Ringorum, ii. 291.
..... Donald, of Grant, i. 530.
..... Sir Francis, Lord Cullen, i. 585, 586.
..... George, Minister of Boharm, ii. 276.
.... Minister of Kirkmichael, ii. 307.
..... Captain James, ii. 291.
..... Sir James, ii. 278.
..... James, ii. 291, 307.
.... of Ballindalloch, ii. 294.
.... of Carron, ii. 290.
.... of Delvers, ii. 298.
.... of Desk, ii. 295.
.... of Fruychie, ii. 290, 291, 295.
..... Sir James, of Grant, ii. 260, 306, 307.
..... James, Minister of Inveravon, ii. 294.
..... John, ii. 290, 433.
.... Knight, ii. 10; iv. 159, 160.
.... of Arntullie, ii. 278.
.... of Ballindalloch, i. 118; ii. 295.
.... of Carron, ii. 291.
.... Culcabok, ii. 291.
.... of Fruchy, ii. 308, 309.

Grant, John Roy, of Carron, iv. 762.
..... Lewis, of Auchterblair, ii. 291.
..... Sir Ludovick, ii. 278, 290.
..... Ludovick, ii. 296.
..... Patrick, ii. 297; iv. 477, 506.
.... of Dalwey, ii. 295.
..... Peter, Minister of Kirkmichael, ii. 307.
..... Robert, Reader at Bellie, ii. 152.
..... Thomas, iii. 428.
.... of Arntullie, ii. 278.
.... Official of Murray, ii. 213.
..... William, Lord Justice Clerk, i. 586.
.... of Ballindalloch, ii. 294.
Grantuly, Johannes, Rector de Glass, iv. 70.
..... Patricius, Rector de Glass, iii. 34, 68.
..... Simon de, ii. 283.
..... Willelmus, Vicarius de Deer, iv. 46.
Gray, Lord, Andrew, i. 285, 321, 504; ii. 211, 347, 362; iii. 51, 79, 81, 136, 137, 138, 164, 213, 220, 225, 357, 358, 403, 413, 473, 507, 515; iv. 36, 47, 134, 223, 224, 443, 464, 490.
..... of Schives, i. 320, 334.
..... Alexander, i. 185.
.... of Hilton, iii. 41, 42.
.... of Schives, iii. 70, 71.
.... Burgess of Aberdeen, i. 180; iii. 216, 568.
Gray, Alexander, Reader at Forbes, i. 229.
..... Sir Andrew, iii. 136, 137.
..... Andrew, of Foulis, iv. 341, 396, 397, 398.
.... of the Muretoun, iii. 136.
.... of Schives, i. 321, 334; iii. 71.
..... George, iv. 64.
..... Gilbert, Principal of Marischal College, i. 61, 62.
.... of Schives, ii. 364; iii. 66.
..... James, iv. 354.
.... of Schives, iii. 71.
..... John, ii. 432; iii. 403; iv. 65.
.... Keeper of the Great Seal, iii. 296, 297.
.... Notary, iv. 39, 560.
..... Sir Patrick, iv. 381, 467.
..... Patrick, iv. 118, 398, 399.
.... son of Andrew, Lord Gray, iii. 136, 137.
.... Burgess of Aberdeen, iii. 216.
..... Robert, iii. 346.
..... Thomas, Prior of Franciscan Monastery at Aberdeen, i. 200.
.... i. 455; ii. 364, 365; iii. 577; iv. 267.
.... of Schives, iii. 421.
.... Reader at Kemnay, i. 230.
..... William, ii. 262; iii. 59.
.... of Audyale, iv. 64.
.... of Kindrocht, ii. 393, 394; iv. 63.

Greg, John, Reader at Ellon, i. 229.
Gregory, King of Scots, i. 23, 553, 555.
..... Alexander, ii. 367.
..... Charles, i. 55.
..... Dr. David, i. 55, 189.
..... David, of Kinnairdie, ii. 189.
..... James, i. 39, 55.
..... John, iii. 46.
.... Parson of Drumoak, i. 55; ii. 189.
Green, Alexander, ii. 289.
Greenlaw, Gilbert, see Aberdeen, Bishop of.
..... Sir John, i. 318.
Greif, David, iii. 347.
Grene, Donald, iv. 488.
..... Hugo, ii. 284.
..... Robert, iv. 488.
Grethened, Walterus, Burgensis de Aberdeen, i. 318, 319.
Grumansone, John, i. 617; iv. 472, 473.
Grundestoun, David, ii. 317.
Grungare, John, iv. 474.
Guido, Marescaldus, iii. 5.
Guild, Dr. William, i. 264, 480.
Guinoth, St., i. 186.
Gun, John, ii. 70.
Guneby, Simon de, ii. 280.
Gunnar, David, iv. 104.
Gunne, Sir William, iii. 285.
Gunner, David, Vicecomes Deputatus de Aberdeen, iii. 35.
Gurla, Alexander, Capellanus, i. 365.
Gurlay, Willelmus, Miles, iv. 699.
Gurmund, Adam, ii. 304.
.... Knight, ii. 156.
Gussait, Johannes, iv. 347.
Guthrie of King-Edward, i. 412.
..... of Ludquharn, i. 412.
..... Alexander, iii. 82.
.... of That Ilk, Knight, ii. 45.
.... of That Ilk, i. 515; iii. 139.
.... of Grandon, iii. 178; iv. 367.
.... alias Falkland, Vicecomes Deputatus de Aberdeen, ii. 358, 359.
..... Andrew, Reader at Keith, ii. 151.
..... Archibald, ii. 267.
..... David, of That Ilk, ii. 315; iii. 232, 417; iv. 593.
.... of Essy, iii. 514.
.... of Hyltoune, iii. 515.
.... of Kincaldrum, i. 347; iii. 180, 241, 273.
.... Parson of Aberdour, i. 443.
..... Gilbert, Burgess of Aberdeen, iii. 216.
..... James, i. 347.
.... of Pitforthie, iv. 354.
..... Johannes, Clericus Sancti Andree, iii. 333.
..... John, of Essy, iii. 514.
..... Sir John, of Ludquharn, i. 413.
..... John, Notary, iii. 33.
..... Dean Richard, see Aberbrothock, Abbot of.
..... William, iv. 590.
.... of Kynblaithmont, i. 516.

Guthuide, Johannes, iii. 356.
Guthyn, Johannes, Presbyter Sancti Andree, i. 347, 349.
Gylpyn, Georgius, iv. 107, 109.
Gyseburn, Frater Henricus de, ii. 247.

HADDINGTON, Countess of, Margaret, iii. 553.
..... Earl of, Charles, iv. 337.
.... Thomas, i. 570.
..... Andreas, Canonicus de Scona, iii. 271.
..... John of, iv. 190, 191, 207, 399.
.... Chaplain of St. Andrews, i. 395.
..... Willelmus, Canonicus de Scona, iii. 271.
Haggis, Johannes, ii. 250.
Hailes, Lord, Patrick, i. 285; ii. 343; iii. 514; iv. 68, 77.
Haius, Johannes, Societatis Jesu socius, i. 461, 462.
Haket, Robertus, iv. 591.
..... Willelmus, iii. 123; iv. 70, 591, 592.
Haketon, Hugo de, Canonicus Moraviensis, ii. 286.
Hakkat, Willelmus, iii. 514.
Haldane, Johannes, de Glenagies, iv. 304.
Halkat, Robertus, de Pitfirrane, Miles, iv. 304.
Halyburton, George, see Aberdeen, Bishop of.
.... of Pitcur, Knight, iv. 565.
..... James, Provost of Dundee, iv. 768.
Halyburton, John, i. 112.
.... of Gask, i. 575.
.... of Saulyne, iv. 49.
..... Walter, Knight, i. 540; iv. 718.
.... of That Ilk, Knight, iv. 724.
.... of Dirltoune, Knight, iv. 391.
Hamilton, Lord, see Chattellarault, Duke of.
.... James, ii. 343; iii. 115, 522, 528; iv. 63, 80, 106.
.... John, iii. 571.
..... Marquis of, James, iii. 575.
.... John, iii. 383.
..... Alexander, iv. 161.
..... Claud, Commendator of Paisley, iii. 74.
..... David, iii. 56.
..... James, Knight, iv. 193.
.... of Fynnart, Knight, iii. 33.
.... of Ormiston, iii. 74.
.... of Stanhous, iii. 351.
..... John, of Binn, iii. 74.
..... Sir John, of Magdalandis, Knight, iv. 254, 273, 276, 277.
..... Mongo, of Perdouen, iii. 74.
Hannay, George, Minister of Inveravon, ii. 294.
Hanye, James, Reader at Kyndroch in Braemar, i. 229.
Hardy, William, ii. 436.
Hariot, Adam, Minister at Aberdeen, i. 48, 49, 209, 226.
Harper, Adam, i. 464.
.... Minister of Boharm, ii. 276.

Harper, William, Minister of Boharm, ii. 276.
Harrowar, Johannes, de Ardgrane, iii. 31.
..... Willelmus, de Ardgrane, iii. 33.
Hart, Robertus, Cursor Regis, iii. 488.
Harvey, Alexander, Reader at Fintray, i. 229.
..... Andrew, iii. 198, 199, 200; iv. 354, 451.
..... David, i. 310.
..... Sir David, Vicar of Nairn, iii. 198, 199, 200.
..... Sir Duncan, iii. 266.
..... Duncan, Prebendary of Forbes, iv. 371.
..... Gilbert, iii. 199.
..... Henry, see Aberdeen, Precentor of.
.... see Murray, Archdeacon of.
..... James, iv. 504.
.... of Boyndis, iii. 206, 207.
.... Minister at New Machar, iii. 204.
..... Nichol, i. 573.
..... Robert, of Mamewlay, iii. 208.
..... William, iv. 367.
.... of Mamewlay, iii. 208.
Hastings, David de, i. 258; ii. 56, 57.
..... Johannes de, ii. 27, 234.
.... de Berueneye, ii. 29.
Hatun, Willelmus de, i. 564.
Haulkerton, Lord, Alexander, i. 509.
Haulkerton, Lord, David, i. 462.
Hauquinus, Miles, i. 373.
Hawick, Andreas de, Rector de Listoun, iii. 96; iv. 452.
.... Canonicus Dunkeldensis, ii. 36.
.... Secretarius Roberti Ducis Albaniae, ii. 264, 314.
Hay, Lord, William, Constable of Scotland, i. 485, 525; ii. 340, 341, 342; iii. 121, 125, 131, 134, 135.
..... of Arnbath, i. 550.
..... of Crimonmogat, i. 425.
..... of Delgatie, i. 331.
..... of Rannis, i. 648.
..... Sir Alexander, iv. 488.
..... Alexander, i. 356, 386; iii. 126.
.... of Ardendracht, i. 485; iii. 91, 128, 506.
.... of Delgatie, i. 114; ii. 357, 358, 359; iii. 30.
.... of Dronlaw, iii. 125.
.... of Easter Kennat, iii. 571.
.... of Finniefield, ii. 350.
.... of Frosterseit, ii. 349.
.... of Monktoune, ii. 94.
.... of Mouhall, i. 395; iii. 127.
.... of Muchalls, ii. 404; iv. 35, 440.
.... of Tenyfield, iii. 157.
.... Burgess of Aberdeen, iii. 217.
.... Canon, iii. 38, 92.
.... Clerk of Register, iv. 768.
.... Notary, ii. 348.

Hay, Alexander, Parson of Duthale, iii. 154.
.... Parson of Turriff, iii. 40, 41, 66, 128; iv. 575.
.... Portioner of Nether Ardlethen, iii. 20, 21.
.... Prebendary of Turriff, ii. 365.
..... Andrew, ii. 354; iii. 255; iv. 127.
.... of That Ilk, iv. 633.
.... of Mountblairy, ii. 310.
.... Parson of Listoun, iv. 179.
.... Reader at Rathven, i. 229.
.... Vicar Pensioner of Rothwan, ii. 136.
..... David, i. 356, 396; ii. 136, 344, 405; iii. 11, 13, 136, 149, 172.
.... of Locherward, iv. 193.
.... of Yestir, iii. 136.
.... of Yestir, Knight, iv. 49.
..... Edmund, of Meginsb, iii. 141.
..... Edmundus de, ii. 341.
..... Francis, iv. 471, 472, 782.
..... George, iii. 331, 332; iv. 575, 782.
.... of Leyis, ii. 348.
.... Minister at Rathven, ii. 152.
.... Reader at Cullen, i. 229.
..... Gilbert, i. 249, 269, 356, 389, 390, 393, 625; ii. 130, 343; iii. 9, 27, 28, 30, 125, 132, 135; iv. 80, 637, 696.
Hay, Gilbert, Knight, ii. 340; iii. 143; iv. 188, 711, 712.
.... Constable of Scotland, i. 277, 379, 627; ii. 340, 395; iii. 211, 212, 317.
.... of Ardendracht, Knight, i. 304; ii. 356; iii. 15, 33, 42, 52, 70, 91, 103, 105, 124, 127, 138, 139, 153, 154, 260, 276, 305, 315, 335, 418, 420, 448, 506, 507, 516, 519, 536; iv. 40, 46, 111, 442.
.... of Carinmuik, iv. 633.
.... of Carmuk, iii. 27.
.... of Delgatie, ii. 353, 354, 355, 404, 429; iii. 151.
.... of Dronlaw, Knight, i. 307, 393; iii. 7, 27, 125.
.... of Locherward, i. 523; ii. 145, 146.
.... of Ury, i. 457; ii. 331; iii. 10, 11, 12, 123; iv. 35, 80, 593, 616, 632.
.... Prebendary of Turriff, ii. 344.
..... James, ii. 354; iv. 471, 782.
..... John, i. 302, 337, 394, 625; ii. 145, 146, 264, 345, 355, 384; iii. 13, 125, 136, 526, 532; iv. 551, 636, 637.
.... see Monymusk, Prior of.
.... of Ardgrane, i. 304.
.... of Boyne, iv. 735.
.... of Crimonmogat, i. 424; iii. 20.
.... of Lochloy, ii. 369; iii. 37.
.... of Logie, iv. 81.

Hay, John, of Muchalls, iii. 20, 22.
.... of Muldaviot, iii. 591.
.... of Nether Leisk, iii. 155.
.... of Tollibothuille, ii. 384.
.... of Tolyboyll, i. 122; ii. 146, 273; iii. 132, 133.
.... of Ury, iii. 157.
.... Apparent of Ury, iv. 636.
.... of Yestir, iii. 148.
.... son of William, Earl of Errol, iii. 101.
.... Junior, son of William, Earl of Errol, iii. 149, 150.
.... Canon of Monymusk, iii. 485, 486, 487.
.... Jesuit, ii. 357.
.... Notary, ii. 358, 359; iv. 469.
.... Parson of Cruden, iii. 123; iv. 45.
.... Parson of Turriff, iii. 123, 127.
.... Provost of Guthrie, ii. 405.
.... Vicar of Cluny, iv. 80, 633.
.... Vicar of Echt, iii. 300.
..... Nicholas, iv. 658, 699,
.... Miles, ii. 340; iii. 125, 317.
.... Civilist of Aberdeen, iv. 658.
.... Parvus, iii. 125.
..... Patrick, of That Ilk, iv. 634.
.... of Ury, iv. 634.
..... Peter, of Bruckland, i. 386.
.... of Meginch, ii. 348.
..... Richard, i. 394.
.... of Carmuck, iii. 123.
..... Robert, i. 176; iv. 122.
Hay, Robert, Knight, iii. 125.
.... Notary, iv. 640.
.... Vicar of Errol, iii. 141, 155.
..... Thomas, i. 356; ii. 345, 354, 355, 405; iii. 127, 529, 581; iv. 416, 487.
.... of Errol, iii. 132, 133, 134.
.... of Kennertie, iii. 347.
.... of Logie, i. 460; iii. 141, 149, 172.
.... Constable of Scotland, i. 289, 355, 363, 364, 380, 389, 390, 392; iii. 93, 141.
.... Parson of Drummaik, iii. 20.
.... Parson of Turriff, iv. 45.
.... Præpositus de Guthrie, iii. 40.
.... Reader at Rathven, ii. 152.
..... Walter, iii. 135.
.... of Carmuck, iii. 28, 29, 154.
.... of Meikle Artroquhy, iii. 28, 30, 91.
..... William, i. 256, 356, 380, 392, 496, 625; ii. 233, 301, 369, 370; iii. 9, 30; iv. 45, 440, 637, 640.
.... Knight, iv. 183.
.... of That Ilk, iv. 635.
.... of Ardendracht, i. 304, 381, 382, 383; ii. 353, 354, 355, 404.
.... of Auchery, iii. 20, 21.
.... of Balcolmy, i. 625.

Hay, William, of Brakleterues, iii. 17, 18.
.... of Capeth, Knight, iii. 150.
.... of Delgatie, iii. 30, 36.
.... of Dronlaw, i. 356; iii. 122, 123.
..... Sir William, of Errol, iii. 131, 364; iv. 643, 644.
..... William, of Lochloy, iii. 101.
.... of Locherward, Knight, iv. 699.
.... ii. 376.
.... of Lormy, iii. 156.
.... of Mane, iii. 33, 155.
.... of Mukalis, iii. 154, 172.
.... Junior of Muldaviot, iii. 592.
.... of Nauchtan, iv. 142.
.... of Nether Leisk, iii. 155.
.... of Park, iii. 149.
.... of Ury, i. 119, 315, 356; ii. 429; iii. 91, 125, 151, 257, 375; iv. 80, 635, 636, 637, 685.
.... Apparent of Ury, iv. 632.
..... Sir William, Constable of Scotland, i. 393.
..... William, Constable of Scotland, iii. 6.
.... Son of John Hay, iii. 125.
.... Son of William, Earl of Errol, iii. 13.
.... Notary, iv. 576.
.... Parson of Idwy, iii. 118, 119.
.... Parson of Turriff, i. 460; ii. 348.
Hay, William, Reader at Elchies, ii. 151.
Hayr, Patricius, de Ardoyne, iii. 443.
..... Rogerus, de Ardoyne, iii. 443.
Hayrum, Henricus de, Clericus Radulfi Episcopi Aberdonensis, ii. 124.
Heart, Sir William, of Prestoun, Knight, iv. 145.
Hedun, Petrus de, Burgensis de Aberdeen, iii. 178.
Hela, Comitissa, iv. 691, 692.
Helmisly, Johannes de, iv. 378.
Henderson, Archibald, Parson of Kingusie, ii. 188.
..... Arthur, Reader at Clatt, i. 230.
..... Jacobus, Officiarius Sconae, ii. 181.
..... James, King's Advocate, iii. 104; iv. 411.
..... John, ii. 433.
.... of Foirdall, iv. 305.
.... Reader at Kynnellar, i. 229.
..... Sir John, Vicar Pensioner of Clatt, iv. 488.
..... William, iv. 496.
Henrici, Johannes, iv. 381.
Henricus, Filius David Comitis de Huntingdon, ii. 41, 42.
..... Canonicus de Spyny, ii. 279.
..... Capellanus Johannis Byseth, ii. 143, 144.
..... Capellanus Mathei Episcopi Aberdonensis, i. 564.
..... Capellanus de Rothes, ii. 286, 287.
..... Clericus Radulfi Episcopi Aberdonensis, i. 568.

Henricus, Clericus Ricardi Episcopi Moraviensis, ii. 302.
..... Filius Alardi, i. 566.
..... Frater Bricii Episcopi Moraviensis, ii. 192.
..... Vicarius de Kinedor, ii. 283.
Henrison, Georgius, iv. 169.
..... James, iv. 488.
..... John, i. 382; iv. 488.
Henry, son of David, King of Scotland, i. 246.
..... Johannes, Monachus, i. 188.
..... Parson of Kynedor, ii. 120, 121, 360.
Hepburn, Adam, i. 113.
.... de Cragis, iii. 91, 169, 171, 172, 411.
.... de Hales, Miles, iv. 391.
.... Prebendary of Ruthven and Dippil, ii. 188.
..... Alexander, i. 98, 389, 398, 407, 418, 426, 429, 445, 452, 465, 474, 482, 488, 495; iii. 539.
.... of Gargunnok, iii. 579, 581, 592.
.... Prebendary of Rhynie, ii. 179.
.... Parson of Rhynie, ii. 168.
.... Servitor Episcopi Moraviensis, ii. 251.
..... Georgius, Rector de Dalry, ii. 181.
..... Jacobus, Canonicus Sconae, ii. 181.
..... James, of Rollanstown, iii. 23.
..... John, ii. 251.
Hepburn, John, see St. Andrews, Prior of.
.... of Polgony, iii. 172.
..... Patrick, Knight, iv. 114.
.... of Ferryhill, iii. 195.
.... of Hales, Knight, iv. 724.
.... of Lothnes, Knight, iv. 675.
.... Prebendary of Kynor and Dunbennan, ii. 168.
..... Robert, ii. 188.
..... William, Prebendary of Ruthven and Dippil, ii. 188.
Herbertus, Camerarius, ii. 129.
..... Marescallus, i. 496; ii. 233.
Herdman, Sir John, iii. 13, 39, 149, 150.
Heriche, Adam de, i. 295.
Hering, Andreas, de Glasclune, iii. 84.
Herman, Jacobus, i. 576.
Heroch, Hugo, Burgensis de Elgin, ii. 195.
Heron, Jacobus, i. 307.
Herries, David, de Deray, ii. 135.
..... Johannes, Miles, iv. 374, 718, 720.
.... de Irareglys, Miles, i. 502, 503.
Herynq, Jacobus, Vicarius de Murhous, iii. 549.
Hethon, Frater Walterus, ii. 236, 237, 238.
Hettoun, Walterus, ii. 366.
Hill, Alexander, ii. 211, 212.
..... Andrew, iv. 52.
..... James, iii. 429, 430.
..... John, ii. 211, 212.
..... Thomas, ii. 314.

Hireman, James, i. 573.
Hod, Robertus, ii. 282.
Hoeldyny, Willelmus, de eodem, i. 343.
Hog of Bliriedryne, i. 638.
..... Andrew, ii. 401, 402.
..... James, ii. 439.
..... Monanus, iv. 31, 32, 555, 598.
Hogston, see Ogston.
..... Thomas, i. 349.
Hoig, Andrew, Reader at Birse, i. 226, 229.
Hoketon, Willelmus, Canonicus Moraviensis, ii. 286.
Holburne, Thomas, Presbyter, iii. 414.
Holdey, Robertus de, ii. 139.
Holmis, Jok, iv. 27.
Holyrood, Abbot of, Archibald, iii. 324, 327, 522; iv. 214.
.... George, iii. 185; iv. 490.
.... W., i. 174.
..... Commendator of, Robert, iv. 746, 747.
Home, Lord, Alexander, i. 263, 504; ii. 316, 347, 364; iv. 36, 223, 224, 226, 443, 464, 490.
..... Alexander, of That Ilk, iii. 51, 55, 69, 79, 81, 164, 165, 213, 220, 225, 357, 358, 398, 473, 507, 515.
.... Knight, iii. 324; iv. 212, 261.
.... Knight, i. 285.
..... Johannes, Monachus de Aberbrothock, ii. 128.
..... Willelmus, Capellanus Moraviensis, ii. 188.
Hood, Frater Walterus, iii. 169.
Hope, Thomas, iv. 56, 57, 247, 248, 249, 273, 276, 277, 281, 287, 299.
Hoppringill, Adam de, iv. 160.
Horn of Westhall, i. 111.
..... Alexander, Burgess of Aberdeen, iii. 224.
..... James, Minister of Bellie, ii. 268.
Hostiarius, see Durward.
..... Alanus, i. 146, 269, 270, 299, 470, 631; iii. 337; iv. 117, 149, 150.
..... Colinus, i. 604, 605; ii. 56, 136.
..... Gilbertus, ii. 154.
..... Thomas, ii. 56, 283; iv. 149.
.... Domini Regis, i. 174, 589.
.... see Lundyn, Thomas.
.... Vicecomes de Inverness, ii. 143, 144.
..... Walterus, de Lundyn, iv. 695.
Houlet, Willelmus de, iv. 710.
Howeson, Alexander, Burgensis de Aberdeen, i. 347; iii. 255.
..... Frater David, iv. 29, 32.
..... David, ii. 439.
.... Minister at Aberdour, &c., i. 227, 228.
..... Johannes, Notarius, iii. 490.
..... Martinus, Burgensis de Aberdeen, iii. 207, 216, 254, 351; iv. 675.
.... Notarius, i. 180.
Hu, Jean de, iv, 370.
Huctredus, Senescallus Alexandri Cumyn, Comitis de Buchan, iii. 113.

Hude, Johannes, Vicarius de Abernyte, i. 576.
Hugh, son of Robert, iii. 428.
Hugo, Cancellarius Willelmi Regis, i. 256, 335, 496.
..... Canonicus Aberdonensis, i. 565.
..... Canonicus de Spyny, ii. 279.
..... Capellanus de Duffus, iv. 608.
..... Capellanus et Clericus Regis, i. 292.
..... Clericus, iv. 4.
..... Clericus Bricii Episcopi Moraviensis, ii. 191.
..... Clericus Ricardi Episcopi Moraviensis, ii. 302.
..... Clericus Willelmi Regis, ii. 191, 192, 234.
..... Clericus, Filius Ricardi, i. 566.
..... Persona de Rothvan, ii. 188.
..... Pincerna, iii. 5.
..... Rector de Boucrider, i. 565.
..... Vicarius de Rothes, ii. 286.
Hugonis, Johannes Filius, iv. 609.
Humble, John, Notary, iv. 277.
Hundby, Johannes, Rector de Kyndromy, iv. 731.
Hunter, Alexander, Portioner of Tilliehaikeis, i. 115.
..... Jacobus, Capellanus, iv. 740.
.... Curatus de Leochell, iv. 347.
..... Frater Johannes, iii. 169.
Huntingdon, Earl of, David, i. 88, 148, 246, 247, 248, 546, 547, 624, 626; iii. 402, 403; iv. 152, 155, 502, 693, 730.
.... John, i. 547, 624.
Huntly, Countess of, Elizabeth, ii. 222; iii. 138; iv. 340.
.... Lady Elizabeth Keith, iv. 538.
.... Jane, ii. 265, 266.
..... Earl of, Alexander, i. 108, 165, 473, 530, 610; ii. 48, 162, 163, 164, 231, 265, 266, 271, 296, 306; iii. 81, 139, 185, 473, 507; iv. 203, 206, 223, 224, 226, 340, 341, 342, 390, 400, 403, 404, 405, 406, 419, 420, 463, 465, 476, 593.
.... Setoun, iii. 404.
.... George, i. 149, 622; ii. 131, 132, 146, 149, 168, 181, 221, 225, 251, 269, 271, 272, 306, 331; iii. 68, 69, 71, 108, 113, 138, 157, 165, 187, 188, 277, 279, 280, 354, 433, 434, 518, 519, 522; iv. 34, 35, 53, 69, 70, 71, 102, 234, 245, 338, 342, 343, 346, 441, 472, 473, 480, 481, 482, 483, 492, 527, 538, 590, 592, 745, 760, 761, 763, 764, 765, 766, 767.
..... Marquis of, George, i. 38, 86, 108, 519, 634; ii. 165, 272; iii. 76; iv. 146, 499.
.... Lewis, ii. 272.
..... Master of, Alexander, ii. 102, 175, 226, 227.
Hurchard, see Urquhart.
Hurrie, see Urrie.
Huse, Anthonius, iv. 106.
..... Laurencius, Doctor Legum, iv. 107, 109.
Hutchison, Johannes, iv. 76.
..... Petrus, Vicarius de Tullinessil, iii. 443.
Hutone, David, iv. 123.

Hundbit, Alexander, iv. 734.
Hyrdmanstoun, Johannes de, i. 249.

IDILL, Johannes, Clericus Sancti Andree Diocesis, ii. 341.
Ile, Angusius de, iii. 522.
..... Hugo de, iii. 526.
..... Johannes de, iii. 522.
Ilis, Alexander, Miles, ii. 215.
Inch, Michael, iii. 394.
Inchcolm, Abbot of, Walter, iv. 195.
Inchestur, Andreas de, i. 233; iii. 181.
..... Johannes de, i. 233.
Inchmartin, Georgius de, i. 555; iii. 577; iv. 183.
..... Henricus de, iv. 427.
..... John de, ii. 313.
.... see Ross, Archdeacon of.
.... of That Ilk, Knight, iv. 426.
.... Canon of Aberdeen, iii. 534; iv. 382.
Ingeramisman, Willelmus, ii. 73.
Ingland, Willelmus, iv. 124.
Inglis, Alexander, see Aberdeen, Chancellor of.
.... see Dunkeld, Dean of.
.... see St. Andrews, Archdeacon of.
.... of Colquhailze, iii. 375.
..... John, of Colquhailze, iii. 375.
.... Servitor of Bishop of Murray, ii. 173.
..... Patrick, iv. 506.
..... Thomas, iv. 500.
Ingram, Duncanus, iv. 347.
..... Johannes, iv. 445.
Innermeith, Dominus, Thomas, i. 516.
Innes, Cardinal George, i. 204.
..... of Balvenie, ii. 290.
..... of Cockston, i. 463.
..... of Drumgask, i. 634.
..... of Munelly, ii. 321.
..... Alexander, ii. 182, 221; iii. 407; iv. 462.
.... of That Ilk, i. 321, 504; ii. 210, 211, 212, 213, 214, 215, 221, 222, 447, 448; iv. 94, 483, 641.
.... of Ardgrane, iii. 33, 34, 35, 36, 128.
.... of Cokistoun, ii. 409.
.... of Crommy, iv. 484.
.... of Dunbeith, iii. 49.
.... Minister of Inveravon, ii. 294.
.... Minister of Mortlach, ii. 254.
..... Andrew, ii. 117, 131, 221, 333; iv. 52.
..... Berowald, ii. 214, 220, 332; iv. 552, 590.
..... Sir George, of Cockston, i. 507.
..... Frater Gilbertus, iii. 119.
..... Gilbertus, ii. 431; iv. 29, 32.
..... Hugh, Minister at Mortlach, i. 650; ii. 258.
..... James, i. 118; ii. 220, 221; iii. 49; iv. 54, 143.
.... of That Ilk, i. 504; ii. 131, 209, 221, 271, 328, 329, 330, 331; iv. 590.
.... of Auchintoull, ii. 150.
.... of Dranie, ii. 149, 250, 251.
.... of Rothibrisbane, iii. 558.

Innes, James, of Tulchis, ii. 407, 408, 409; iv. 333.
..... John, ii. 221, 250, 409; iv. 39, 46, 491, 492, 560.
.... see Deer, Abbot of.
.... see Ross, Dean of.
.... Canon of Murray, iv. 615.
..... Margaret, Lady of Delgatty, ii. 432.
..... Patrick, ii. 261; iv. 491, 492.
..... Robert, i. 112; ii. 214, 220, 221, 251, 252, 384; iii. 223.
..... Sir Robert, ii. 220, 221; iv. 84.
.... of Balvanie, iii. 204, 210.
..... Robert, of Dranie, ii. 214.
.... of Invermarkie, ii. 366; iii. 33, 34, 35, 36, 448, 558; iv. 39, 462, 560.
..... Sir Robert, of Invermarkie, ii. 257.
.... of Kinkell, iii. 30, 35, 37; iv. 649.
.... of Rothnakynny, ii. 333; iii. 49.
..... Thomas, ii. 38; iv. 45, 46, 47.
.... (Author of the Critical Essay), i. 138, 509, 631; ii. 301.
..... Walter, i. 112; ii. 158, 282, 408, 409; iv. 47, 349.
.... Knight, ii. 220, 221.
.... of Auchintoull, ii. 370.
.... of Auchluncart, ii. 289.
.... of Auldcass, iii. 335.
.... of Candruiff, ii. 408.
Innes, Walter, of Invermarkie, i. 321; ii. 214, 406; iii. 397, 398, 399, 448, 449.
.... of Touchis, ii. 190.
..... William, ii. 214, 250, 408; iii. 35.
.... of Kinermonie, ii. 289.
Insula, Prior de, Walterus, i. 256.
Insularum, Dominus, Johannes, i. 456, 457, 485, 486; iii. 511, 521, 522, 523, 527, 562; iv. 517, 518.
Insulis, Angusius, Filius Goffredi de, iv. 377.
..... Berthomeus de, ii. 207.
..... Goffredus de, iv. 377.
..... Johannes de, Miles, i. 458.
Innerpefrie, Johannes, i. 287; ii. 318, 319.
Invermeithe, Walterus de, iii. 510.
Invermerche, Dominus, Thomas, iii. 512.
Invermeth, Alanus de, ii. 19.
Invernar, Frater Willelmus de, ii. 247.
Invernarn, Willelmus de, Clericus, ii. 194.
Invernys, Frater Alexander de, ii. 247.
Invirkeleder, Robertus de, ii. 428.
Iona, Abbot of, Falbeus, iii. 131.
..... Commendator of, George, iii. 154, 255, 539.
Irchard, St., i. 631; ii. 6, 7.
Irland, Sir Andrew, iii. 13.
..... Andrew, Notary, iv. 633.
..... William, iii. 12.
Irvine of Artamford, i. 406, 425.
..... of Bonshaw, i. 276.
..... of Corny-haugh, ii. 321.
..... of Crimond, i. 406, 425.

Irvine of Cults, i. 110.
..... of Drum, i. 41, 110, 207, 275, 406, 509, 531, 634.
..... of Kincaussie, i. 265, 634.
..... of Knapernay, i. 110.
..... of Lenturk, i. 599.
..... of Saphock, i. 360, 581.
..... Alexander, iii. 35, 216, 404, 577; iv. 55, 59, 81, 82, 90, 94, 95, 131, 168, 344, 378, 390, 456.
.... Knight, i. 555; iv. 188, 394, 399, 442, 452, 453, 454, 455.
.... of Auldquhat, iv. 579.
.... of Belteis, i. 516; iii. 32, 306, 340; iv. 131, 762.
.. .. of Coull, iv. 683.
.... of Crimond, i. 426.
..... Sir Alexander, of Drum, i. 207, 234, 276, 324, 325, 293, 514; ii. 45, 381; iii. 15, 31, 32, 42, 52, 64, 70, 89, 94, 105, 116, 126, 170, 260, 276, 289, 297, 302, 303, 304, 305, 306, 307, 308, 309, 310, 311, 312, 315, 335, 338, 339, 342, 343, 346, 348, 365, 366, 375, 383, 404, 418, 420, 445, 449, 519, 536, 541, 560, 561, 573, 574, 575, 589, 590, 592; iv. 46, 50, 82, 95, 111, 121, 176, 389, 390.
..... Alexander, of Drum, i. 25, 276, 277, 278, 279, 344, 353, 492, 514, 515, 516, 517, 556; ii. 40; iii. 32, 35, 297, 298, 299, 300, 301, 302, 303, 304, 309, 574, 575; iv. 51, 52, 54, 55, 56, 57, 58, 59, 78, 130, 131, 181, 385, 439, 451, 452, 578, 579, 684, 685.
Irvine, Alexander, of Eister Beltie, iv. 367, 368.
.... of Forglen, iii. 306, 307, 308, 344, 573, 574; iv. 60.
.... of Fortrie, i. 306.
.... of Hiltoun, iii. 209.
.... of Lenturk, i. 600; iv. 349, 368, 369.
.... of Lonmay, ii. 366; iii. 299, 300; iv. 131.
.... of Murtle, iii. 85, 355.
.... of Schivas, i. 334.
.... of Strathdee, iii. 298, 299, 323.
.... of Torryleith, iii. 85.
.... of Tullocht, ii. 326.
.... Junior, iv. 369.
.... Advocate, iv. 533.
.... Minister of Longside, ii. 444, 445.
..... Andrew, iv. 578, 579.
..... Archibald, Reader at Birse, i. 229.
..... Dr. Christopher, i. 276.
... .. David, iv. 131.
... .. Francis, of Hiltoun, iii. 176, 209.
..... Gilbert, of Auldquhat, iv. 578.
.... of Cullairly, iv. 578.
..... James, iii. 501; iv. 578.
.... of Auchyoch, iv. 55.
.... of Brucklay, iv. 579.
.... of Petmurchie, iv. 578.
..... John, ii. 261; iii. 216; iv. 54, 55, 344, 578.
.... of Artamford, iv. 56, 59.
.... of Balbithan, iii. 85.
.... of Hattoun, iv. 59.

Irvine, John, of Kincaussie, iii. 216, 217; iv. 578.
.... of Murtle, i. 265; iii. 85.
.... Burgess, of Aberdeen, iii. 216.
.... Reader at Straithauchin, i, 226.
.... Reader at Tarland and Migvie, i. 230.
..... Patrick, iv. 56, 58, 368.
..... Reginald, of Maines, ii. 380; iv. 117, 118.
..... Richard, iv. 456.
..... Robert, ii. 261, 381; iii. 574, 575; iv. 51, 55, 389.
.... of Belteis, iii. 306.
.... of Belty, i. 115.
.... of Cults, i. 265.
.... of Fedderat, iii. 76.
.... of Montcoffer, iv. 55, 59.
.... of Torryleith, iii. 85.
..... Thomas, iv. 114.
..... Walter, of Tulchis, iv. 466.
..... Bishop William, i. 306.
..... William, i. 276; ii. 45; iv. 54.
.... of Artamford, i. 407.
.... of Drum, iii. 289, 292, 293.
Isles, Bishop of the, Angus, iii. 522.
.... George, iii. 154, 255, 539.
..... Lord of the, Donald, i. 23.
..... Donald of the, i. 536.

Jackson, John, iii. 466.
..... Robertus, Capellanus, iii. 271.
..... William, Provost of Aberdeen, iii. 283.
Jacobi, Johannes, iv. 198.
Jacobus, Filius Morgundi, i. 154; ii. 18.
Jaffrason, Johannes, Vicarius de Forbes, iv. 313.
..... Sir John, iii. 77.
..... Thomas, iv. 313.
.... Vicarius de Forbes, iii. 510.
Jaffray, Alexander, iv. 57, 58.
.... of Kingswells, iii. 192.
.... Baillie of Aberdeen, i. 238; iv. 688, 689.
.... Burgess of Aberdeen, iii. 216.
..... Johannes, iii. 485; iv. 347.
..... Mr., Schoolmaster, ii. 48.
Jak, James, iv. 649, 684.
James, I. King of Scots, i. 41, 87, 276, 280, 482, 487, 529, 555; ii. 30, 257, 341, 342, 351, 372, 380, 406; iii. 166, 313, 336, 365, 369; iv. 33, 87, 115, 117, 158, 177, 183, 185, 186, 187, 208, 247, 255, 256, 257, 259, 260, 261, 263, 264, 265, 266, 267, 269, 270, 271, 275, 276, 282, 283, 286, 287, 288, 290, 300, 386, 389, 390, 391, 407.
..... II., ... i. 12, 83, 92, 108, 238, 284, 427, 541, 606; ii. 135, 220, 257, 342, 343; iii. 98, 297, 323, 326, 397, 412, 441, 444, 458, 577; iv. 48, 66, 67, 68, 79, 81, 89, 118, 188, 195, 196, 199, 200, 202, 203, 206, 212, 255, 256, 257, 259, 260, 261, 263, 264, 266, 267, 270, 271, 275, 276, 282, 283, 286, 288, 290, 297, 299, 300, 340, 393, 394, 397, 398, 399, 400, 424, 435, 436, 755.

James III., King of Scots, i. 83, 121, 284, 455, 485, 510, 575, 576, 607, 610; ii. 175, 315; iii. 180, 231, 233, 275, 298, 347, 348, 445, 453, 471, 561, 579, 588; iv. 44, 61, 64, 69, 80, 213, 215, 255, 256, 350, 394, 407, 437, 460, 516, 517, 520.
..... IV., ... i. 147, 152, 159, 214, 254, 262, 317, 319, 353, 373, 458, 472, 482, 487, 503, 551, 563, 606, 620, 656; ii. 132, 211, 316, 332, 346, 461; iii. 55, 79, 81, 139, 181, 213, 223, 232, 342, 367, 370, 376, 413, 423, 431, 432, 451, 452, 453, 472, 473, 474, 475, 509, 523, 524, 555; iv. 4, 42, 45, 64, 71, 92, 119, 131, 133, 217, 218, 220, 221, 223, 224, 226, 246, 254, 255, 277, 278, 313, 322, 324, 331, 335, 342, 357, 358, 411, 412, 413, 431, 432, 438, 440, 441, 454, 463, 465, 468, 476, 488, 519, 520, 521, 522, 526, 536, 558, 616, 738.
..... V., ... i. 147, 155, 156, 214, 610, 638, 656; ii. 229, 364; iii. 34, 82, 110, 111, 184, 244, 307, 348, 377, 488, 563, 564, 566, 573; iv. 99, 255, 319, 350, 351, 415, 417, 418, 419, 420, 451, 456, 461, 462, 523, 526, 529, 560, 561, 574, 575, 576, 620, 625, 634, 645, 656, 671, 675, 680, 683, 743, 782.
..... I., King of Great Britain, (James VI. of Scotland), i. 9, 17, 96, 191, 205, 276, 376, 431, 496, 583, 606, 620; ii. 128, 398, 408, 437; iii. 35, 131, 161, 174, 196, 309, 381, 441, 520, 542, 568, 569, 570; iv. 51, 52, 53, 102, 238, 239, 252, 264, 327, 328, 337, 338, 345, 348, 354, 360, 367, 368, 422, 448, 450, 469, 484, 492, 494, 496, 499, 504, 526, 532, 533, 537, 538, 540, 541, 542, 556, 564, 578, 579, 582, 587, 595, 620, 636, 647, 649, 650, 651, 658, 660, 662, 665, 672, 674, 676, 683, 684, 767, 770.
James II., King of Great Britain (James VII. of Scotland), i. 74, 308, 361, 362, 531; iii. 316.
..... VIII. (The Chevalier), i. 83, 361, 371.
..... son of Mormond, iv. 695.
Jamieson, Alexander, ii. 236; iv. 348.
..... David, i. 303.
..... George, i. 56, 57, 64.
..... James, ii. 439.
..... John, i. 302.
..... Robertus, Monachus de Lundoris, iii. 394, 410.
..... Sym, i. 303.
Jar, Frater Teodicus de, ii. 247.
Jardyn, Alexander de, iii. 334.
Jenico, Frater Ricardus de, ii. 247.
Johannes, Canonicus Moraviensis, ii. 288.
..... Capellanus, ii. 121.
.... Adam, Episcopi Aberdonensis, i. 565; ii. 18, 21.
.... Alexandri Cumyn Comitis de Buchan, i. 455.
..... Clericus, i. 307, 395.
.... Gilberti, Episcopi Aberdonensis, i. 565; ii. 122.
..... Decanus de Buchan, i. 292; ii. 122.
..... Filius Archid, i. 154.
..... Filius Brunyng, ii. 37.

Johannes, Filius Hugonis, Decanus Christianitatis de Elgin, ii. 207.
.... Michaelis, i. 197.
.... Nicolai, Monachus, i. 512.
.... Thome, i. 381.
.... Uthredi, i. 407, 408; ii. 391, 417, 428, 442; iii. 5, 119, 130.
..... Frater Vicecomitis de Striuelin, i. 566.
..... Monachus de Urchard, ii. 155.
..... Persona de Artyldol, ii. 278.
.... de Glas, ii. 158.
....., Rector de Glas, ii. 133.
..... Succentor Moraviensis, ii. 195.
..... Vicarius de Fetterneer, i. 527; ii. 139.
Johannis, Andreas, iv. 381.
John, King of Scots, i. 43, 162, 286, 378.
Johnson, Alexander, i. 303.
... .. Andrew, i. 394; ii. 141.
..... David, iv. 347.
..... John, iv. 348.
..... Michael, Presbyter, iii. 367.
..... Robert, Burgess of Dundee, iii. 125.
..... Dr. Samuel, i. 410.
..... Theophilus, ii. 250.
..... Thomas, iv. 379.
..... Walter, Chaplain, iii. 241; iv. 402.
..... William, of Badfothal, iii. 263, 264.
Johnston, Lord, Alexander, iv. 83.
..... of Caskieben, i. 569.
..... Alexander, iv. 38, 737.
Johnston, Alexander, of That Ilk, i. 321, 356, 382, 576; ii. 11, 12; iii. 33, 52, 64, 89, 94, 103, 126, 170, 193, 224, 260, 276, 335, 336, 340, 384, 385, 418, 421, 448, 449, 462, 463, 533, 552, 554, 561, 589, 591, 592; iv. 46, 50, 92, 94, 121.
.... of Ballindach, iii. 53, 224.
.... Presbyter, iii. 524.
.... Aberdonensis, ii. 332.
..... Dr. Arthur, i. 50, 54, 55, 56, 64, 125, 153, 546, 569.
..... David, iv. 506.
..... George, iii. 278.
.... of That Ilk, iv. 762.
..... Sir George, of That Ilk, Bart., iv. 308, 309, 310.
.... i. 109.
..... George, of Caskieben, iii. 422.
..... Gilbert, i. 182.
.... of That Ilk, iii. 223, 224; iv. 737.
.... of Ballindach, iii. 210, 460, 461.
.... of New Leslie, iv. 514.
.... of Standandstanis, iv. 762.
..... Henry, iii. 553.
..... James, iii. 539.
.... of That Ilk, iv. 417, 469.
.... Chaplain of Murray, ii. 188.
..... John, iii. 582, 583.
.... of That Ilk, iii. 461.
.... Knight, i. 502.
.... Advocate, iv. 362.

Johnston, Thomas, Minister of Boharm, ii. 276.
..... Dr. William, i. 54.
..... William, ii. 333, 364, 367, 433; iii. 209, 553; iv. 37, 38, 46, 98.
.... of That Ilk, i. 315; iii. 53, 64, 65, 78, 89, 223, 224, 257, 260, 335, 375, 408, 418, 420, 421, 553, 554, 561, 591.
.... of Caismyln, iv. 762.
.... of Crimond, iii. 536.
.... Presbyter Aberdonensis, ii. 326.
Jokke, Alexander, iv. 347.
Jope, Georgius, iv. 349.
Jordanus, i. 221.
..... Canonicus de Aberdeen, i. 565, 566; ii. 21, 139.
..... Capellanus Gilberti, Episcopi Aberdonensis, i. 292; ii. 122.
Josse of Collenard, i. 646.
Judde, Andreas, Miles, iv. 106.

Kabell, William, iii. 86.
.... Parson of Tullinessil, i. 608.
Kaledour, Hugo de, i. 625.
..... Johannes de, i. 561.
.... Clericus Ade, Episcopi Aberdonensis, ii. 121.
Kalintir, John of, iv. 608.
Kamloke, John of, iv. 395.
Kargill, Bernard of, i. 594; iv. 160, 460.
Karnebehyn, Ricardus de, ii. 72.
Katanensis, Episcopus, see Caithness, Bishop of.
Katnes, Simon de, Rector de Errol, ii. 43.
Kay, Alexander, iv. 100.
..... Frater David, iii. 251.
..... David, Notary, iv. 275.
.... Presbyter Sancti Andree, iv. 201.
..... Walterus, iv. 191, 454.
.... de Ochter Forfar, iv. 735.
Kedy, Richard, Notary, iv. 275.
Keiro, Thomas, iii. 517, 518.
Keith of Bruxie, i. 110, 406.
..... of Keithfield, i. 110, 334.
..... of Ludquharn, i. 71, 412, 414.
..... of Meikle Crichie, i. 399.
..... of Northfield, i. 488, 489.
..... Field Marischal, i. 420.
..... Agnes, wife of James, Earl of Mar, iv. 745.
..... Alexander, i. 492, 524; ii. 264, 390, 391, 403, 404, 405; iii. 365; iv. 28, 36, 46, 589, 596, 620, 625.
.... Knight, i. 404, 492; iv. 458, 466.
.... son of William Keith, Marischal of Scotland, ii. 380.
.... of Balmure, iv. 595.
.... of Carnis, iv. 556.
.... of Glakreoch, iv. 553, 554, 630.
.... of Grandam, i. 231.
.... of Grandoun, ii. 112, 363, 372; iii. 165, 166.
.... of Hythe, Knight, iii. 91, 126, 151; iv. 60.
.... of Lichty, ii. 355.
..... Andreas, Ballivus de Kintore, iii. 238.
..... Sir Andrew, iv. 595.

Keith, Andrew, i. 524; ii. 400, 446, 447; iv. 556, 615, 616.
.... of Craig, iv. 620.
.... of Inverugy, ii. 379; iv. 188, 197, 614.
.... of Ravenscraig, i. 424; ii. 395, 396, 434; iv. 594.
..... Archibald, ii. 356, 390, 434.
.... of Morefield, ii. 364.
.... Minister at Longley, &c., i. 228.
..... Antony, ii. 390; iv. 35, 474.
..... Christian, wife of William, Lord Forbes, i. 533.
..... David, iv. 596.
..... Edward, i. 404.
.... Knight, i. 250; iv. 188, 198, 615.
..... Elizabeth, wife of George, Earl of Huntly, ii. 168.
.... wife of William, Lord Forbes, i. 170, 482; iii. 117, 118, 229; iv. 623, 624.
..... Francis of Kinmundy, iv. 589.
..... Colonel George, iii. 281.
..... George, iv. 598, 640.
..... Gilbert, ii. 391, 405, 406, 447; iii. 300, 541; iv. 615.
..... Sir Gilbert, of Inverugy, i. 422; ii. 402; iii. 299; iv. 71, 75, 79, 81, 615.
..... Gilbert, of Inverugy, ii. 401.
.... of Partyok, i. 412.
.... of Perceoche, iv. 76.
.... of Troup, i. 366, 367; iii. 116; iv. 72.
.... Vicar of Longley, iii. 195; iv. 556, 598.
..... James, i. 421; iv. 76, 596, 620.
Keith, James, of Bruxie, i. 398, 403.
.... of Drumtochty, iv. 598.
..... Brother John, iv. 29, 32.
..... John, i. 491, 492; ii. 390; iii. 42; iv. 35, 36, 40, 147, 615.
.... Knight, i. 250.
.... Brother of William Keith, Marischal of Scotland, ii. 38.
.... of Balmur, ii. 447, 448; iv. 98, 596.
.... of Clackriach, iv. 40.
.... of Craig, iv. 683.
.... of Glachria, iv. 589.
.... of Inverugy, i. 290, 380; ii. 400; iv. 378, 614, 615.
.... of Ludquharn, i. 412.
.... Apparent of Northfield, ii. 407, 408.
.... of Ravenscraig, i. 622; iii. 49; iv. 594, 595, 591.
..... Magnus, iv. 31, 555.
..... Margaret, wife of William, Earl Marischal, iv. 620, 622.
..... Nathaniel, iv. 589.
..... Patrick, ii. 404.
..... Robert, see Deer, Abbot of.
.... i. 190; ii. 74, 75, 159; iv. 35, 596.
.... Knight, i. 250, 404, 499, 500; ii. 35; iii. 263, 268; iv. 595, 609.
.... Marischal of Scotland, i. 207, 277, 342, 404, 491, 492, 627; ii. 218, 340, 395, 406, 407, 446; iii. 211, 212, 231, 313; iv. 33, 711, 712.
.... son of William, Earl Marischal, iii. 327.

Keith, Robert, son of William Keith, Marischal of Scotland, ii. 74, 75.
.... of Benholm, ii. 423.
.... of Canterland, iii. 128.
.... of Troup, iii. 230, 319, 320.
.... Parson of Kinore, ii. 188.
.... Minister at Kinore, ii. 152.
..... Robertus de, Marus Capitalis Vicecomitatus de Aberdeen, i. 232, 233.
..... Samuel, iv. 640.
..... Willelmus de, de Galstona, iv. 713.
..... Sir William, ii. 406; iv. 713.
..... William, i. 492; ii. 43, 331, 369, 387, 388, 402; iii. 165; iv. 33, 40, 75, 596, 615.
.... Marischal of Scotland, i. 232, 281, 317, 404, 500, 501, 502, 524, 538, 540, 548; ii. 35, 37, 72, 73, 74, 75, 380, 446; iii. 45, 132, 230, 318, 319, 320, 322; iv. 156, 159, 164, 206, 374, 458, 716.
.... son of William, Earl Marischal, iii. 328.
.... of Balmure, ii. 434.
.... of Hythe, i. 412, 456; iv. 76.
..... Sir William, of Inverugy, i. 170, 437, 482, 533; ii. 356, 400, 402, 403, 404, 405; iv. 616, 617, 622, 623, 624.
..... William, of Inverugy, ii. 402, 403; iii. 151, 205; iv. 76, 78, 79, 620.
Keith, Sir William, of Ludquharn, i. 418; ii. 445; iv. 589, 596, 597.
..... William, of Ludquharn, iv. 630.
.... of Troup, iii. 541.
.... Baillie to my Lord Sinclair, i. 115.
Kellas, Johannes, Capellanus, iv. 731.
Kelle, Johannes, ii. 237, 365.
Kellis, Donald, iv. 474, 475.
..... John, iv. 474, 475.
..... William, iv. 474, 475.
Kello, Gilbert, Reader at Bawhelvie, i. 229.
..... Thomas, iv. 591.
Kelly, Andreas, Burgensis de Kintore, iii. 238.
Kelso, Abbot of, Henry, i. 624.
.... Herbert, i. 293.
.... Hugh, i. 295.
.... Osbert, i. 247.
.... Robert, iii. 213.
Kemlok, Johannes, Capellanus, iv. 70, 401.
.... Presbyter Brechinensis, iv. 592.
Kemp, William, iv. 131.
Kenmaron, Thomas de, ii. 303.
Kennarte, Johannes, Notarius, iii. 497.
Kennedy, Lord, Gilbert, i. 285, 380; iii. 180, 241, 273; iv. 63.
.... John, i. 608; iv. 357.
..... of Kermuck, i. 301.
..... Arthur, iii. 27.
..... Duncanus, Constabularius de Aberdeen, iii. 258.
..... James, son of John Kennedy, Constable of Aberdeen, i. 272.

Kennedy, James, Burgess of Aberdeen, iii. 529.
..... John, iv. 684.
.... son of Gilbert, Lord Kennedy, iii. 273.
.... of Carmuk, Constable of Aberdeen, i. 272; iii. 29, 30.
.... husband of Elizabeth, Countess of Errol, i. 389, 390.
.... Prebendary of Tullynessill, iii. 255.
.... Notary, iii. 86, 198, 220, 255, 568; iv. 354, 526, 660.
..... Patrick, iv. 378.
..... Thomas, i. 273.
.... Constabularius de Aberdeen, iii. 25, 26, 264.
..... William, iv. 80.
.... Constable of Aberdeen, i. 301, 314.
Kentigern, St., i. 639; ii. 81, 164, 165, 166, 167.
Ker of Menie, i. 111, 285.
..... Alexander, of Menie, iii. 336.
..... James, iii. 197.
..... Professor John, i. 138, 631.
..... Robert, of Menie, iii. 336.
.... Burgess of Aberdeen, i. 285.
.... Vicar of Lyndene, iii. 251.
..... Captain Thomas, iii. 280.
..... Frater Thomas, iv. 29, 32.
..... Thomas, iv. 339.
.... Sub-prior of Deer, ii. 431.
Kereld, Judex, i. 338; iii. 5.
Kerneil, R. de, i. 547.
Kessane, Johannes, Notarius, iii. 253.
Kethie, William, Reader at Ardintullie, ii. 151.
Kibbil, Johannes, iv. 591.
Kill, Jacobus, Capellanus, iii. 443.
Kincragy, James, see Aberdeen, Dean of.
Kinet, Judex, iii. 402; iv. 694.
King, Andrew, iii. 45.
.... Notary, iii. 439; iv. 660.
..... James, of Barrach, i. 321.
.... of Bourty, ii. 11; iii. 418, 590, 592; iv. 50.
..... William, i. 117.
.... of Barrach, i. 237; iv. 469.
.... of Bourty, iii. 14, 450, 519, 536; iv. 60, 111, 232, 442.
Kinghorne, Earl of, John, iii. 6; iv. 542.
.... Patrick, iii. 6.
..... Adam de, iii. 177.
..... Henricus de, Canonicus Aberdonensis, iv. 331.
Kinloss, Abbot of, Adam, i. 188; ii. 233.
.... H., ii. 158.
.... Herbert, ii. 153, 247, 282, 283.
.... John Ellem, i. 188, 230; ii. 163.
.... John Flutere, i. 188.
.... R., i. 560.
.... Radulphus, i. 188.
.... Robert, ii. 366; iii. 116; iv. 14, 16, 18.
.... Reid, ii. 231, 232, 237.
.... Thomas, ii. 236, 237, 364, 365; iv. 609.

Kinloss, Abbot of, Thomas Chrystallus, i. 188, 189, 313; ii. 230, 421.
.... W., i. 312.
.... Walter, i. 313, 314; ii. 236, 238; iii. 30, 568.
..... Frater Andreas, iii. 169.
Kinmalron, Thomas de, i. 408.
Kinnard, Allan, i. 356.
.... of That Ilk, iii. 10, 12, 266, 267, 318; iv. 76.
..... David, of Kininmont, iii. 12; iv. 61.
.... of Taylady. ii. 355.
..... John, iv. 118.
.... of Inchture, iii. 13.
..... Matthew, iii. 128.
..... Patrick, ii. 250.
..... Richard, i. 355; ii. 141.
..... Thomas, i. 279; iii. 12, 91.
.... of Culbyn, iii. 264, 265, 266, 267, 271; iv. 592.
.... of Kinninmond, iv. 54, 63, 76.
.... of Skewow, iii. 13.
..... Walter, Burgess of Dundee, iii. 13.
..... William, Burgess of Perth, iii. 166, 167.
Kinninmund I., Alexander, see Aberdeen, Bishop of.
..... II., ... see Aberdeen, Bishop of.
..... Matthew, see Aberdeen, Bishop of.
..... Elias de, ii. 304.
..... Johannes, Burgensis de Aberdeen, iii. 184.
Kintie, John, of Old Govill, iii. 209.
Kintore, Earl of, John, i. 570.
Kintore, Earl of, William, i. 570.
..... Alexander, Burgess of Aberdeen, iii. 508.
..... David, Burgess of Aberdeen, i. 180; iii. 145.
..... Gilbert, of Auchgwyok, iii. 216, 217.
.... Burgess of Aberdeen, iii. 508.
..... James, of Auchgwyok, iii. 216.
.... Burgess of Aberdeen, iii. 255.
..... John, iv. 35, 36.
..... Ricardus de, Prepositus de Aberdeen, iv. 62.
.... ii. 327.
.... Burgensis de Aberdeen, i. 347; iii. 144, 274, 508.
..... William, of Auchgwyok, iii. 145, 258, 508.
.... Burgess of Aberdeen, iii. 454.
Kircuthbright, William de, Mestre del Hospital de Turrythe, ii. 340.
Kirknes, Thomas de, Miles, i. 373.
Kneycht, John, Parson of Duffus, ii. 188.
Knollis, Alexander, Burgess of Aberdeen, iii. 183, 215, 220, 352, 353.
..... Gilbert, iii. 217.
..... Henry, Vicar of Aboyne, iii. 233.
..... John, iii. 216.
.... of Polmolat, iii. 259.
.... of Wester Essintuly, iii. 357.
..... Willelmus, Preceptor de Torfichin, Miles, iv. 593.

Knollis, Willelmus, Preceptor de Torfichin, iii. 51, 357; iv. 403, 406.
..... William, of North Logyriuf, iv. 595.
Knox, Andrew, of That Ilk, ii. 432; iv. 592.
..... David, of Auchorthy, iv. 65.
..... George, ii. 439.
..... Gilbert, of That Ilk, i. 115.
..... John, i. 320.
.... of That Ilk, iii. 114, 450; iv. 232, 576, 577.
..... William, ii. 439.
Kolly, Thomas, Filius Thayni de, i. 258.
Krymond, Jacobus, i. 113.
Kuyp, Nicolaus, ii. 364.
Kyd, Alexander, i. 120.
.... Succentor Aberdonensis, iii. 352, 354, 435, 443.
..... Andreas, Econimus, ii. 431.
..... Frater, iii. 119.
..... Gilbert, ii. 433.
..... James, Reader at Inverugy, i. 230.
.... Vicar of Inverury, iii. 469, 470.
..... Johannes, Vicarius Pensionarius de Durris, iii. 361.
..... John, ii. 432.
Kymdy, Thomas, i. 394.
Kympont, Frater Jacobus, ii. 238.
Kyncorth, Andreas de, i. 260.
Kyncraigie, Jacobus, Rector de Spot, ii. 355.
Kyndelech, Johannes de, Vicarius de Dulmack, iii. 298.
Kyndrocht, John of, ii. 391; iii. 113.
Kyner, John of, i. 573.
Kyninmond, John de, see Brechin, Bishop of.
Kynman, Sir Nichol, iii. 136.
..... William, iii. 135.
.... of Hill, ii. 348.
Kynneir, David, de eodem, iv. 120.
..... Jacobus, iv. 120.
Kynros, Henricus de, ii. 191, 192.
..... Jacobus, de Kippenros, iv. 475.
Kyntessoc, Frater Henricus de, ii. 247.

Laboren, Robertus, iv. 4.
Laceles, Willelmus de, ii. 129.
Lagan, Robertus, ii. 261.
Laicester, Robertus de, ii. 21.
Laingaeus, Jacobus, i. 506.
Lairde, David, Reader at Foveran, i. 229.
Lamb, David, Baro de Dunkeny, iv. 370.
..... George, of Custestoun, iii. 440.
..... William, iv. 506.
.... Presbyter, iii. 361.
Lamberton, Philippus de, iii. 113.
..... William, see St. Andrews, Bishop of.
.... i. 567.
.... Parson of Turriff, i. 562; ii. 337.
Lambertona, Alexander, i. 566, 567.
..... Willelmus de, i. 564, 565, 566, 567.
Lambertus, Capellanus, ii. 302.
..... Capellanus Bricii, Episcopi Moraviensis, ii. 191.
..... Succentor Moraviensis, ii. 170, 280, 304.
Lambley, Ralph, see Aberdeen, Bishop of.

Lamme, Ferquhardus, i. 514.
Lancas, Gilbertus de, i. 547.
Lang, Duncan, ii. 419.
..... John, i. 303; iv. 593.
.... Notary, iv. 260.
.... Parson of Newlands, iii. 224, 232, 417.
..... Thomas, Notary, iii. 326.
..... William, iii. 4.
.... Canon of Aberdeen, i. 502; ii. 264; iv. 104, 316, 378.
.... Parson of Turriff, i. 448; ii. 337, 375, 376, 377.
Langenhill, Robertus de, iv. 710.
..... Thomas de, iv. 710.
Langlandis, Johannes, de Cullace, iii 514.
Lardenarius, Rogerus, ii. 398.
Lascellis, Jacobus de, ii. 109; iii. 113.
..... Radulphus, Clericus, i. 372.
Lathum, Henricus de, Vicecomes de Aberdeen, iv. 704.
Laudelis, Robertus de, i. 624.
Lauder, Allan, iv. 724.
.... Notary, iv. 162.
..... George, i. 448; ii. 376.
..... John, see Teviotdale, Archdeacon of.
..... Sir Robert, ii. 37, 319; iii. 292, 313, 531; iv. 115, 185.
..... Robertus, de Bass, Miles, iv. 184.
.... de Edryngtoun, Miles, iv. 159, 178.
.... de, Justiciarius, ii. 382.
Laudonia, Willelmus de, Miles, iv. 752.
Laurence, Parson of Tough, iv. 342.
..... John, ii. 432.
..... William, ii. 432.
Laurencius, Archidiaconus, i. 257.
..... Prepositus Sancti Andree, i. 567; ii. 72.
Law, Thomas, Minister of Boharm, ii. 276.
Lawson, Alexander, iii. 161.
.... Burgess of Aberdeen, iii. 216.
.... Clericus Aberdonensis Diocesis, ii. 365.
..... Andrew, Burgess of Aberdeen, iii. 215.
..... Duncan, i. 159.
..... Edmund, Burgess of Aberdeen, iii. 572.
..... George, Reader at Coull, i. 229.
..... Jacobus, Monachus de Aberbrothock, ii. 128.
..... James, Minister at Old Aberdeen, i. 226.
..... John, iv. 438.
.... Burgess of Aberdeen, iii. 215.
..... Richard, of Hieriggis, iii. 104, 213.
..... Robert, iii. 394.
..... Thomas, iv. 360.
..... William, of Dysart, i. 437.
.... Burgess of Aberdeen, iii. 272.
Lawtie, Jacobus, Burgensis de Cullen, ii. 370.
..... William, Minister at Cullen, &c., i. 227.
.... Notary, ii. 267.
Leask of Fynnersye, i. 386.
..... Alexander, of That Ilk, iii. 150.
.... Notary, i. 386; ii. 184.

Leask, George, i. 386.
..... Humphrey, of That Ilk, i. 364, 394, 395.
..... James, i. 386.
..... John, iii. 22, 147.
..... Patrick, ii. 436; iv. 497.
..... Thomas, i. 272, 273, 364, 373, 395; ii. 238.
.... of That Ilk, i. 290, 380; iii. 93, 147.
..... Ulfrid, of That Ilk, iii. 147.
..... Walter, of That Ilk, i. 386.
..... William, of That Ilk, iii. 4, 20, 21, 22, 27, 30, 129, 147, 149, 150, 421; iv. 65.
.... Burgess of Aberdeen, iii. 147.
Lectona, Willelmus de, ii. 159.
Ledale, Domina Anabella de, i. 311.
..... Georgius, Rector de Foresta, iii. 98.
..... Jacobus, de Crechiltoune, Miles, iv. 89.
..... Willelmus de, Miles, iv. 156.
.... Vicecomes de Aberdeen, Miles, i. 549.
Ledyntosach, Hugh of, iii. 429.
Lee, Willelmus de, i. 624.
Leech, John, i. 66.
Leicestre, Robertus de, i. 292.
Leich, Patricius, Canonicus Glasguensis, iv. 214, 357.
Leighton, Alexander, iii. 460, 461.
.... see Torphichen, Prior of.
.... Vicar of Fyvie, i. 496.
..... Duncan, see Aberdeen, Chancellor of.
..... Henry, iv. 76.
Leighton, Henry, see Aberdeen, Bishop of.
.... Canon of Aberdeen, iv. 731.
.... Parson of Kinkell, iv. 453.
..... Walter, iv. 726.
.... Apparent of Ullishaven, i. 352.
Leis, David, ii. 44.
..... John, iv. 454, 457, 776.
..... Robert, Notary, ii. 44; iii. 32, 45, 46, 99, 102, 145, 147, 148, 168, 270, 272, 274, 315, 339, 340, 356, 367, 420, 508, 585, 586.
.... Chaplain, ii. 328; iv. 45, 331.
.... Presbyter of Aberdeen, i. 347, 515, 516.
..... Thomas, Chaplain, iv. 62.
.... Notary, iv. 402.
.... Presbyter of Aberdeen, i. 283.
.... Vicar of Ellon, iii. 27, 28, 241, 298.
Leith of Barnes, i. 332, 550.
..... of Freefield, i. 578.
..... of Harthill, i. 579.
..... of Leithhall, i. 111, 545, 623.
..... of Overhall, i. 111, 550, 551.
..... of Whitehaugh, i. 111, 629.
..... Alexander, iv. 538.
.... of Montgarrie, i. 629, 630; iv. 542.
..... Archibald, iv. 33.
..... Captain, iii. 280.
..... George, iv. 488, 513, 542.
.... of Barnes, iii. 193, 260, 335, 341, 375, 418; iv. 738.

Leith, George, of Overbarnes, iii. 400, 401.
.... of Overhall, iii. 400, 401.
..... Henry, iii. 334.
.... of Barnes, i. 79; iii. 374, 398, 399, 552; iv. 737.
..... James, of Leith-hall, i. 623.
..... Johannes, Commissarius Substitutus de Aberdeen, iv. 544.
..... Sir John, iii. 125.
..... John, iii. 64.
.... of Balquharne, iv. 513.
.... of Barnes, iii. 192, 193; iv. 469.
.... of Montgarrie, iv. 540, 542, 543.
.... of Montgarrie or Whitehaugh, i. 629.
.... of Newton, iii. 401.
.... of Whitehaugh, i. 333, iii. 393, 394; iv. 542.
.... Advocate, iv. 676.
.... Prebendary of Philorth, iii. 443.
..... Laurencius, i. 500; iii. 191; iv. 381.
.... de, Aldermannus de Aberdeen, i. 380.
..... Patrick, i. 115, 118; iii. 552; iv. 542.
.... of Crannoth, i. 628.
.... of Harthill, iii. 35; iv. 469, 495.
.... of Lykliehead, iii. 396.
.... Parish Clerk of Tullinessil, i. 628.
..... Robert, of Overbarnes, iii. 400, 401.
Leith, Robert, of Overhall, iii. 401.
..... Thomas, i. 373; iii. 198, 199, 200, 738.
.... Burgess of Aberdeen, iii. 184.
..... William, i. 118, 383, 629, 630; iii. 192.
.... of Badycaiss, iii. 552.
.... of Barnes, ii. 353; iii. 192, 401; iv. 736.
.... of Lykliehead, iv. 542.
.... of Montgarrie, iv. 540.
.... Burgess of Aberdeen, i. 232; ii. 37; iii. 45, 197; iv. 716, 717, 718, 721.
.... Provost of Aberdeen, i. 208.
Lemman, David, iv. 586.
Lennox, Duke of, Esme, iv. 770.
..... Earl of, Duncan, ii. 140.
.... Malcolm, i. 342; ii. 159, 304.
.... Matthew, ii. 347, 362; iii. 55, 79, 81, 225, 473, 507; iv. 47, 134, 223, 224, 226, 443, 464.
..... M., son of M., Earl of, ii. 136, 284.
..... Mormaor of, Muiredach, iv. 691.
Lepar, Andrew, iv. 378.
Lermond, Willelmus, Servitor Episcopi Moraviensis, ii. 251.
Lerweryke, Willelmus, Clericus Brechinensis, ii. 199.
Leslie of Balquhain, i. 110, 200, 527, 528, 531, 532, 537; ii. 257.
..... of Drumdollo, ii. 321.
..... of Drummies, i. 110.
..... of Eden, i. 449, 482.

Leslie of Kincragie, i. 596.
..... of Kinninvey, i. 650.
..... of Littlefolla, i. 111.
..... of Pitcaple, i. 111, 526, 531, 537.
..... of Tyrie, i. 111.
..... of Wardhouse, i. 71, 535, 554, 555.
..... of Wartle, i. 535, 578.
..... Alexander, i. 127; ii. 266; iii. 471; iv. 330, 342, 516, 526, 527.
.... of That Ilk, i. 115; iii. 97, 392, 393, 471; iv. 351, 352.
.... of Bacomy, iv. 330.
.... of Balquhain, i. 530, 531.
.... of Brekrav, iii. 273.
.... of Kincragie, iii. 377, 469; iv. 344, 345, 346.
.... of Pitcaple, iii. 386.
.... of Tough, iv. 482.
.... of Tullos, i. 531.
.... of Wardhouse, i. 114, 119, 486, 487, 529; iii. 146, 232, 234, 405; iv. 516, 517, 518, 520, 521, 524, 525, 526, 527, 736.
.... of Wartle, i. 534, 535.
.... Minister at Botarie and Elchis, ii. 151.
.... Minister at Keith, ii. 151.
.... Notary, iii. 508.
.... Parson of Botarie, ii. 188.
..... Andreas, Monachus de Lundoris, iii. 394, 410.
..... Major Andrew, iii. 280.
Leslie, Andrew, i. 540, 593, 594; iii. 187, 369, 425, 488; iv. 318, 333, 483, 526, 670, 753.
.... Knight, iii. 370, 553, 554, 577; iv. 168, 458, 732.
.... of That Ilk, i. 540.
.... Knight, iii. 133, 470, 552.
..... Sir Andrew, of Balquhain, i. 527, 529.
..... Andrew, of Buchanstoun, iii. 449.
.... of New Leslie, iii. 393, 400, 406.
.... Lord of The Syde, iii. 393, 471; iv. 267, 731.
.... Burgess of Aberdeen, iii. 215.
.... Parish Clerk of Daviot, iii. 455, 456, 457.
.... Parson of Rothes, iv. 331.
.... Prebendary of Ellon, iii. 86, 198, 206, 381.
.... Presbyter of Aberdeen, i. 310.
.... Secretary of William, Bishop of Aberdeen, i. 628.
..... David, i. 530.
.... of Pitcaple, iii. 53, 384, 385, 386, 419, 420; iv. 46.
..... Duncan, of That Ilk, iii. 387.
..... Elizabeth, daughter of the Earl of Rothes, iii. 137, 138.
..... George, i. 541; ii. 261; iii. 64, 393, 439, 471; iv. 206, 212, 261, 330, 331, 457, 591.
.... Knight, i. 274, 472; ii. 36; iv. 318.

Leslie, George, of That Ilk, i. 551, 552; ii. 11; iii. 65, 90, 103, 221, 387, 391, 393, 472, 473, 589, 591, 592; iv. 50.
.... (Father Archangel), i. 586.
.... of Auldcraig, iii. 454.
..... Sir George, of Balquhain, i. 528, 529.
..... George, of Balquhain, i. 531.
.... of Coclarachie, iii. 518.
.... of Crachie, iii. 438, 454.
.... of Eden, i. 302.
.... of Fythkill, Knight, ii. 162; iii. 231; iv. 323, 753.
.... of Kincragie, iv. 345, 346.
.... Fiar of Kincragie, iv. 146.
.... of New Leslie, i. 529; iv. 488.
.... of Whitecross, iv. 70.
.... of Tyrie, i. 655.
.... Advocate, iv. 339.
.... Minister at Murthlack, ii. 152.
..... Sir Hemelin, of Balquhain, i. 529.
..... Henry, of Ardune, iii. 450, 451.
.... of Largye, iii. 409, 410.
..... Count, James, i. 529, 531.
..... James, i. 515.
.... of Balquhain, i. 528, 529, 531.
.... of Drumdollo, iii. 512.
.... of Milltown of Durnoch, iii. 438.
Leslie, James, of Pitcaple, iii. 385, 458.
.... Burgess of Aberdeen, i. 608; iii. 35.
.... Sheriff Depute of Aberdeen, iii. 424.
..... John, see Lindores, Abbot of, and Ross, Bishop of.
.... iii. 390, 393, 429; iv. 527.
.... of That Ilk, iii. 386, 390, 392, 393, 399, 502.
.... of Auquhorsk, iii. 388.
..... Sir John, of Balquhain, i. 108, 530, 531.
..... John, of Balquhain, i. 108, 528; iii. 185, 187, 277, 278, 279, 381, 382; iv. 498, 531, 532, 624, 670.
.... Sheriff of Aberdeen, iii. 35, 37, 157, 377, 378.
.... Sheriff Depute of Aberdeen, i. 114, 121.
.... Apparent of Balquhain, iv. 533.
.... of Bannochie, iii. 369.
.... of Buchanstoun, iii. 449.
.... of New Leslie, iii. 393, 400, 406.
.... of Pitcaple, iii. 387; iv. 309.
.... Fiar of Pitcaple, iv. 309.
.... of The Syde, iv. 480.
..... Sir John, of Wardhouse, Bart., iv. 303, 304, 514.

Leslie, John, of Wardhouse, iii. 53, 71, 233, 234, 406, 408, 421, 446, 510; iv. 482, 519, 520, 521, 522, 523, 524, 528, 738.
.... Burgess of Aberdeen, iii. 216.
.... Notary, iii. 556; iv. 516.
.... Parish Clerk of Daviot, iii. 455, 456, 457.
.... Parish Clerk of Inverury, iii. 469, 470.
.... Prebendary of Ellon, iii. 435.
.... Prebendary of Murthlack, iii. 86, 118, 119, 187, 206, 381, 391.
.... Prebendary of Rhynie, ii. 179.
.... Reader at Aberdeen and Nigg, i. 229.
.... Reader at Botarie, ii. 151.
.... Reader at Logie Durno, i. 228.
.... Reader at Nigg, i. 226.
.... Vicar of Premnay, iii. 399, 400.
..... Malcolm, i. 282.
.... of That Ilk, iii. 393.
.... of Cults, iii. 586.
..... Norman, i. 594; iv. 318.
.... Knight, i. 540.
.... of that Ilk, Knight, iii. 393, 470, 553.
.... iii. 393.
..... Count, Patrick, i. 529, 531.
..... Patrick, see Lindores, Commendator of.
Leslie, Patrick, iii. 390, 450; iv. 46, 504, 505, 509, 512, 527.
.... of Ardoyn, i. 530.
.... of Balquhain, i. 321, 530, 531.
..... Sir Patrick, of Eden, Provost of Aberdeen, i. 304.
..... Patrick, of Kincragie, iv. 339, 450.
.... elder of Kincragie. iv. 146, 147.
.... of Pitmuxton, iii. 184, 185.
.... Burgess of Aberdeen, ii. 365; iii. 452, 454.
.... Lindsay Herald, iii. 464.
..... Robert, iv. 332.
.... of Auldcraig, iii. 454.
..... Stephen, of Little Wartle, iii. 438, 439, 440.
..... Thomas, iii. 392; iv. 42, 46.
.... of Ardune, iii. 446, 447, 448, 452.
.... Ballivus de Aberdeen, iii. 378; iv. 738.
.... Burgess of Aberdeen, iii. 35.
.... Parish Clerk of Logiedurno, i. 382.
.... Sheriff Depute of Aberdeen, iii. 556.
..... Count, Walter, i. 528.
..... Walter, i. 435; iii. 277; iv. 519.
.... Knight, ii. 218, 219, 222.
.... Drumdollo, iii. 512.

Leslie, Walter, of Kininvy, ii. 260.
.... of New Leslie, iii. 53, 421, 446.
.... of Philorth, i. 483.
.... of Ross, Knight, ii. 350, 351, 383, 386, 387, 388, 389, 390.
.... iv. 83, 84, 87, 88.
.... Burgess of Aberdeen, iii. 195.
.... Notary, iv. 532.
.... Parson of Menmuyr, iii. 553.
.... Reader at Essie, ii. 152.
..... William, iii. 370, 512, 513, 577; iv. 57, 58, 320, 321, 524, 525, 526, 531.
.... Knight, iii. 404; iv. 390.
.... Bishop of Laybach, i. 533, 534, 535.
..... Sir William, of Ballcomie, iii. 288.
.... of Balquhain, i. 108, 282, 529, 530, 541; iii. 471, 472, 586; iv. 206, 212, 261, 401.
..... William, of Balquhain, i. 541, 563; ii. 12; iii. 53, 64, 89, 105, 115, 116, 151, 185, 260, 305, 315, 335, 371, 372, 375, 376, 377, 378, 408, 418, 424, 590; iv. 60, 469, 529, 530.
.... of Bannochie, iii. 369.
.... of Buchanstoun, iii. 449, 450.
.... of Cambusbarron, iii. 381.
Leslie, William, of Finchies, iii. 141.
.... of Kirkhill, iii. 81; iv. 527.
.... of The Syde, Knight, iv. 342.
.... i. 556.
.... of Wardhouse, iii. 439; iv. 330, 526.
.... of Wartle, i. 553; iii. 438, 454; iv. 57.
.... Burgess of Inverury, i. 127.
.... Sheriff of Garioch, iii. 582, 583.
.... Sheriff of Inverness, ii. 222.
Lethindy, Hugo de, i. 196.
Lewes, John, iv. 107, 109.
Leylie, Robert, Parson of Slains, i. 470; iii. 129.
Liberatione, Galfridus de, ii. 283.
Liddell, Dr. Duncan, i. 54, 62.
... .. Sir William, iv. 716.
.... Provost of Aberdeen, iii. 287, 288.
.... Sheriff of Aberdeen, iii. 29.
Lilisclive, Stephanus, Clericus Willelmi, Episcopi Sancti Andree, i. 257.
Lilley, John, Schoolmaster at Alford, iv. 137, 138, 139.
Lincoln, Ricardus de, Clericus Willelmi Regis, ii. 54.
Lindores, Abbot of, Andrew, iii. 138.
.... Guido, i. 247, 336.
.... J., i. 293, 294; ii. 22, 122, 123.

Lindores, Abbot of, John, i. 548, 565, 624; iii. 227, 228, 229, 390, 391, 393, 394, 409, 410; iv. 534.
.... Leslie, iv. 504.
.... Thomas, iii. 429.
.... Wice, ii. 301.
.... Wido, i. 292.
.... William, i. 538.
.... Angus, ii. 220.
..... Commendator of, John, iii. 401.
.... Patrick, iii. 401.
.... Leslie, iv. 504, 505.
..... Lord, Patrick, iv. 361.
..... Prior of, David, i. 565.
..... Robert of, iv. 503.
..... Simon of, Notary, iv. 468.
..... William of, Prebendary of Forbes, iv. 371.
Lindsay of the Byres, Lord, John, iv. 205, 206, 212, 221, 222, 257, 261.
.... Lord, Patrick, ii. 43; iv. 768.
..... of Culsh, i. 406.
..... Alexander, iii. 359, 594, 595, 596, 597; iv. 84, 720.
.... Knight, i. 233, 316, 390; ii. 44, 67, 85, 305, 386; iii. 141, 181; iv. 114, 376.
.... of Auchtermonse, Knight, ii. 404, 405.
.... of Glenesk, Knight, iv. 724.
.... Ballivus Baroniae de Maryculter, iii. 368.
.... Clericus et Notarius, iv. 670.
Lindsay, Alexander, Parson of Belhelvy, iii. 346, 347.
..... Andrew, Vicar of Newtill, iii. 596.
..... Archibald, see Aberdeen, Precentor of.
..... Sir David, iv. 393.
..... David, i. 247; ii. 43; iv. 49, 67, 68, 727.
.... of Adyell, Knight, ii. 45.
.... of Beufurde, Knight, ii. 78, 79, 80.
.... of Bogfarlay, iii. 215.
.... of the Byres, ii. 221.
.... of Glenesk, i. 499, 502.
.... Knight, iii. 262.
.... of Lethnot, iii. 513, 515; iv. 67.
..... Duncan, iv. 4.
..... George, Minister of Aberlour, ii. 290.
..... Gerard, i. 624.
..... Sir Gilbert, Knight, iii. 552.
..... Henry, ii. 45; iii. 42.
..... Herald, iii. 131.
..... Ingelram, see Aberdeen, Bishop of.
.... iii. 161, 162.
..... Jacobus, Prepositus de Lincluden, ii. 315.
..... James, iii. 298, 347.
.... see Glasgow, Dean of.
.... Knight, i. 233, 316, 390, 499; ii. 31, 44, 67, 85; iii. 141; iv. 85, 114, 376.
.... of Crawford, i. 273, 274.

Lindsay, James, of Cushnie, iii. 571.
.... Reader at Kynnairnye, i. 229.
..... John, ii. 43, 54; iii. 161, 347, 595; iv. 727.
.... of Blarefidden, Notary, iv. 417.
.... of Byres, i. 285; ii. 220, 221, 222, 223; iii. 324, 413, 587.
.... of Cragy, Knight, i. 427.
.... Vicar of Culsalmond, iii. 14, 15.
..... Lawrence, iii. 596.
..... M.P., Minister at Kinethmont, iv. 516.
..... Patricius, iv. 461.
.... Ludimagister in Alford, iv. 687.
..... Simon, ii. 398.
..... Symo, Armiger, iii. 122.
..... Thomas, of Bogfarlay, iii. 215.
..... W., Clericus Andree Episcopi Moraviensis, ii. 169.
..... Walter, ii. 119; iv. 380, 381, 403, 405, 406.
.... Knight, iii. 517; iv. 183, 381, 383.
.... Brother of Earl of Crawford, iii. 8.
.... of Beufort, i. 278, 279.
.... of Kilbrachmont, iv. 257, 261.
.... of Kinblathmonth, iv. 206, 212, 221.
.... Sheriff of Aberdeen, i. 343.
Lindsay, Walterus, Dominus Beati Johannis, Miles, iii. 594, 595, 596.
.... Preceptor de Torphichen, Miles, iii. 368.
..... William, i. 256, 336; ii. 54, 433; iv. 4, 84, 160.
.... Chamberlain of Scotland, i. 277.
.... Knight, ii. 219; iii. 552; iv. 726, 727.
.... of Byres, ii. 222.
.... Knight, i. 274, 404; iv. 724.
.... of Culsh, i. 407; iii. 571; iv. 59, 60.
.... of Rossy, iv. 142, 381.
Lipp, Thomas, ii. 136, 222.
.... Knight, i. 618.
..... Walter, i. 470.
Lismorensis, Episcopus, see Argyle, Bishop of.
Listona, Reginaldus de, i. 625.
..... Rogerus de, iii. 5.
Litstar, Willelmus, Notarius, iv. 234.
Litle, Edwardus, Burgensis de Edinburgh, iv. 667.
Livingston, Lord, James, i. 427; ii. 315; iii. 98, 324, 327, 444, 472, 514, 578; iv. 63, 68, 69, 77, 78, 79.
.... Thomas, iii. 319.
..... Master of, Alexander, iii. 136, 157.
..... Alexander, of Calendar, iii. 93.
.... Knight, iv. 49, 67, 193, 436, 437.
.... of Donypace, iii. 36.
..... David, Parson of Ayr, iii. 102, 276, 348.

Livingston, David, Praepositus de Lincluden, iv. 215.
..... George, Minister at Kincardine, i. 227.
..... Henry, iv. 360.
..... Jacobus de, Camerarius Scotiae, iv. 89.
..... James, iv. 49, 196.
.... Great Chamberlain, ii. 343.
..... John, iv. 49.
.... Vicar of Inverugy, ii. 398; iv. 62.
..... Patrick, iv. 65.
..... Robert, iii. 129; iv. 197.
.... Knight, i. 274.
.... of Drumry, Knight, iii. 324; iv. 191, 193.
..... William, Knight, i. 539; iii. 573.
Lockhart, Grace, wife of John, Earl of Aboyne, i. 634.
..... John, Prebendary of Inverkeithny, ii. 318.
Logane, Robertus, de Restalrig, i. 502.
Logie, Captain, i. 325, 326.
..... George, ii. 433.
..... Brother John, iii. 251.
..... John, ii. 388.
.... of That Ilk, iii. 133.
..... Patrick, i. 575.
Logtoun, Johannes de, Clericus Sancti Andree, i. 274.
Londoniis, Robertus de, i. 496; ii. 41, 42.
Longovile, Sir Thomas de, i. 329.
..... Thomas de, i. 329, 563.
Loreng', Robertus de, iv. 117.
Lorn, Dominus de, Johannes Senescalli, iii. 96.
.... Robertus Stewart, iii. 582, 583.
Lothane, Thomas, de Rethy de Tervas, i. 342.
Lothian, Archdeacon of, Andrew, iii. 4.
.... Archibald Whitlawe, iv. 63, 214, 216, 357.
.... John, i. 176.
Loury, Willelmus, Subcantor Brechinensis, iii. 273.
Louthre, David, Knight, i. 625.
Lovat, Lord, Alexander, i. 409; iv. 234.
.... Hugh Fraser, iv. 656.
.... Simon Fraser, ii. 392.
Lovel, Henry, of Ballumby, iii. 139.
..... Richard, iv. 267.
.... of Ballumby, iii. 166, 167.
..... Robert, of Ballumby, ii. 372.
Lownane, Frater Duncanus, iii. 119; iv. 29, 32.
..... Walterus de, Notarius, iii. 317.
Ludan, Thomas de, Vicarius de Bouirdin, i. 568.
Lulach, ii. 176, 177.
Lumgeir, Thomas de, iii. 461.
Lumsden of Cairndui, i. 636.
..... of Cushnie, i. 593.
..... Alexander, i. 182; iv. 762.
.... Parson of Fliak, i. 595; iii. 472.
..... Arthur, iv. 328.
..... Henry, iii. 58.
.... Parson of Kinkell, ii. 250.

Lumsden, Henry, Prebendary of Kinkell, iii. 86, 229.
.... Vicar of Tarves, i. 335.
..... James, iv. 322, 326, 349.
..... John, iii. 58; iv. 753, 754.
.... of Cushnie, iv. 327, 328, 329, 686, 762.
.... of Glegernach, iv. 195.
.... Vicar of Tarves, i. 335.
..... Matthew, iii. 498; iv. 366, 367.
.... of Tulicarne, ii. 49; iii. 117; iv. 445, 624, 762.
.... Notary, iv. 334, 335, 417.
..... Patrick, i. 180.
.... of Colliestoun, iv. 762.
..... Robert, i. 182; ii. 431, 434, 435; iii. 30, 278; iv. 30, 31, 317, 322, 323, 460, 624, 686, 779.
.... The Younger, iv. 660.
.... of Clova, iii. 37, 381, 391, 400, 467; iv. 526, 660, 762.
.... of Cushnie, iii. 501.
.... of Midlar, i. 595; iii. 497, 498; iv. 144, 322, 324, 325, 326, 334, 335, 336, 350, 417, 445, 469.
.... Burgess of Aberdeen, i. 115; iv. 648, 657, 658.
.... Notary, iv. 456.
..... Thomas, iv. 322, 326.
.... of Condolane, i. 594, 595; iv. 322, 323, 324.
.... of Midlar, iv. 322.
.... Prebendary of Kinkell, iii. 255.
..... William, iv. 687.
Lunan, Alexander, Minister of Daviot, i. 581.
Lundy, Andreas, iii. 472.
..... Sir John, of That Ilk, i. 166, 608, 610.
..... Nicholaus de, Camerarius de Aberbrothock, ii. 130.
..... Robertus, Filius Willelmi Regis, iii. 177.
.... de Balgony, Miles, iii. 69, 165.
Lundyn, Philippus de, ii. 233; iv. 695.
..... Thomas, Filius Malcolmi de, iv. 694.
.... Hostiarius Regis, ii. 41, 42, 46, 55.
Lupellus, Robertus, iv. 609.
Lutare, Willelmus, iv. 131.
Luyd, David, Capellanus, iv. 657.
Lurgot, Edward, i. 394.
Lyctone, Duncanus, i. 516.
Lyell, Alexander, iv. 90, 531.
..... Andrew, see Aberdeen, Treasurer of.
..... David, iv. 66.
.... Minister at Montrose, i. 53.
.... Notary, iii. 15, 70, 71, 184, 372, 55.
..... Sir Davy, iv. 456.
..... Robert, of Duchale, iv. 194, 195, 393, 399.
..... Brother William, ii. 237, 238.
..... William, iii. 397.
Lyle, Lord, Robert, ii. 315, 316; iii. 213, 324, 357.
Lyn, Thomas, Armiger, iii. 517.
Lynton, Frater David de, ii. 247.

Lyon, Lord, John, iv. 118.
..... Alexander, see Murray, Precentor of.
..... David, i. 396; iii. 335; iv. 67, 437.
.... of Kynnel, iii. 154.
.... Parson of Forbes, iv. 409, 410.
.... Prebendary of Forbes, iv. 371.
..... James, iv. 67, 437.
..... John, i. 549; ii. 331, 380.
.... Knight, i. 491; ii. 227, 363.
.... of Curtaston, iv. 616.
.... of Glammis, i. 288.
..... Patrick, of Kinghorn, Knight, iv. 341, 396.
..... Thomas, i. 396.
..... W., of Comalegie, i. 115.
..... William, of Balgony, iii. 153.
.... of Comalegie, iii. 429, 430; iv. 635.
.... Burgess of Aberdeen, iii. 216.
Lype, Thomas, i. 307.
Lysuris, Willelmus de, iv. 697.
Lytill, James, Chaplain, iv. 672.

Mac Ago, Willelmus, ii. 261.
Mac Allan, Willelmus, ii. 261.
Mac Androw, Johannes, ii. 261.
Mac Auchell, Thomas, ii. 261.
Mac Barnat, Donaldus, ii. 261.
Mac Blake, Willelmus, ii. 261.
.... Mukallum Mac Andro, Willelmus, ii. 262.
Mac Callan, Thomas, ii. 261.
Mac Chandyt, Jacobus, ii. 261.
Mac Conill Roye, Fyndlayus, ii. 261.
Mac Culloch, Thomas, Minister of Bellie, ii. 269.
Mac Ferkar, Macbeth, Capellanus, ii. 302.
Mac Ferquhar Mac Lawny, Johannes, ii. 262.
Mac Furter, Johannes, ii. 261.
Mac Gartned, Duncanus, ii. 217.
Mac Gillandris, Thomas, i. 617; iv. 472, 473.
Mac Gillecrist, Alan, ii. 15.
.... Andreas, ii. 261.
.... Thomas, ii. 261.
Mac Gille Patrick Johannes, ii. 261.
Mac Gow, Alexander, ii. 261.
Mac Gyllebride, Elysaunt, ii. 303.
Mac Hutcheon, Adamus, ii. 262.
Mac Indoquhy, Alexander, ii. 262.
Mac Intalyour, Adamus, ii. 262.
Mac Intosh, Alan, iv. 402.
.... Duncan, Chief of Clan Chattan, iv. 402.
.... John, ii. 261.
.... Lachlan, iv. 402.
Mac Jokke, Willelmus, ii. 262.
Mackay, John, iv. 348.
Mac Kelleis Mac Condoquhy Moir, Duncanus, ii. 261.
Mac Kennayth, Christinus, ii. 217.
Mac Kenzie of Dalmore, i. 643.
.... Daniel, Minister of Aberlour, ii. 290, 294.
Mac Kere, Willelmus, ii. 261.
Mac Keran, John, ii. 289.
Mackessie, Donaldus, i. 458.
Mackgilleon, Eugenius Donaldi, iii. 527.
..... Hector, de Loichbowe, iv. 518.

Mackgilleon, Lachlanus, de Doward, iv. 518.
.... Senescallus Comitis Rossiae, iii. 526.
Mackie, John, iii. 368.
..... William, iii. 368.
Mackilledored, Maldonenin, ii. 19.
Mac Kymmey, Johannes, ii. 262.
Mac Lea, Duncan, Minister of Kirkmichael, ii. 307.
Mac Lelan, Ferquhardus, ii. 261.
Mac Leod, Rory, of Lewes, i. 487; iv. 518.
.... William, of Glenelg, i. 487; iv. 518.
Macmadethy, Malotheny, ii. 303.
Macmedthyn, Cospatric, ii. 391, 394; iii. 130.
..... Malothen, ii. 391.
Mac Neill, Malcolmus, de Giaya, i. 487; iv. 518.
Mac Oan Ruthri de Allethan, i. 407.
Mac Phail, Alexander, ii. 261.
.... David, ii. 261.
.... Donald, ii. 261, 262.
.... John, ii. 261.
.... John Moir, ii. 261.
.... William, ii. 261.
Mac Pherson, Alexander, ii. 264, 265.
Mac Reachan, Alexander, ii. 261.
Mac Robie Mac Callum Dow Fyndlayus, ii. 261.
Mac Thomas, Johannes, ii. 261.
.... Willelmus, ii. 261.
Mac William, Alexander, ii. 261.
.... Donaldus, ii. 261.
.... Duncanus, ii. 261.
.... Johannes, ii. 261.
.... Patricius, ii. 261.
Mac William, Thomas, ii. 261.
Mac Wrm, Johannes, ii. 261.
Mac Yndow, Andreas, ii. 261.
Mac Ynnes, Johannes, ii. 261.
.... Thomas, ii. 261.
M'Birnie, John, Minister at Aberdeen, i. 49.
M'Caus, Alexander, de Ardnamertho, iv. 518.
M'Ghie, Alexander, of Artrochie, iii. 92.
..... Hugh, of Artrochie, iii. 92.
.... of Dorskhill, iii. 92.
M'Gill, David, of Cranstone Riddell, iv. 52.
.... Advocatus, iv. 747.
..... James, iv. 276.
M'Grasycht, Alester, iv. 777.
M'Grumane, John, iv. 474.
M'Kenzie, Alexander, of Kintail, iii. 527.
..... George, Clerk Register, iii. 312.
..... Thomas, of Pluscarden, iv. 689.
M'Kynneir, Patrick, iv. 56, 57, 58.
Macbeth, King of Scots, i. 9; ii. 176, 177, 178.
Machar, St., i. 137, 138, 139, 140, 141, 144, 148, 267, 268, 589.
Machut, St., i. 646.
Magni, Rogerus, i. 196
Magnus, St., i. 446; ii. 296, 309.
..... Filius Comitis Colben, ii. 427, 428.
Maidens, The Nine, i. 275, 595.
Mair, William, ii. 369; iv. 125.
Maistertoun, Robertus, de Parkmylne, iv. 304.

Maitland of Pitrichie, i. 71, 111, 357, 360.
..... Dr. Charles, i. 322.
..... Sir Charles, of Pitrichie, iii. 71, 74, 558.
..... James, ii. 217.
.... of Manlattie, iv. 674.
.... Chaplain, iv. 432.
..... John, Chaplain, ii. 252.
..... Merione, ii. 433.
..... Patrick, ii. 262; iv. 462.
.... Knight, iii. 68, 69.
.... of Karnfeichell and Auchincrive, i. 357.
.... of Nattirdule, i. 485.
.... of Schives, Knight, iv. 401.
..... Richard, of Lethingtoun, ii. 93.
..... Sir Richard, of Pitrichie, i. 358; iii. 74, 75, 558, 559; iv. 569.
..... Richard, Minister of Nigg, i. 254.
..... Robert, iv. 551.
.... see Aberdeen, Dean of.
.... of Auchtnacrew, iv. 552.
.... of Nattirdule, i. 525.
.... of Schives, i. 344, 345.
..... Walter, iv. 674.
..... William, iv. 160.
.... of Lethingtoun, iv. 109.
Makalloine, Johannes, de Invernanis, iv. 782, 783.
Makalloune, Alexander, iv. 476.
..... John, iv. 476, 477.
Makalyeane, Thomas, of Cliftonhall, iv. 766.
Makbeathe (alias Cliddisdaile), Johannes, iii. 451.
Makcane, Alexander, of Ardnamerchen, i. 487.
Makdowell, Edward, iii. 299.
.... Vicar of Logy, iv. 449.
Makeson, David, iv. 635.
..... John, Notary, iv. 677.
..... Oliver, iv. 506.
Makfety, Duncanus, i. 154.
Makgill, Jacobus, de Rankeldour Nethir, ii. 93; iii. 187.
..... John, iv. 33.
Makgillane, Lachlan, i. 458.
Makgilleon, Hector, of Loichbow, i. 487.
..... Lachlan, of Doward, i. 487.
Makgillumquha, Joneta, iv. 642, 643.
Makillekere, John, iv. 474, 475.
Makkesone, Patrick, i. 303.
Makmerson, Henricus, iii. 581.
Maknakill, Johannes, iii. 368.
Maknele, Alexander, Notary, iii. 197; iv. 562.
Makros, Jacobus, ii. 262.
Malbrigte Mac Chathail, iv. 546.
Malcolaim Mac Cinaedha, King of Alban, iv. 547.
Malcolm I., King of Scots, i. 631.
..... II., ... i. 128, 141, 149, 451.
..... III., ... i. 9, 169, 171, 172, 374, 375; ii. 84, 176; iv. 690.
..... IV., ... i. 88, 144, 146, 160, 246; ii. 230, 233, 397; iii. 77, 164, 168, 198, 205, 209, 210, 253, 369, 428, 441, 454; iv. 486, 536, 690.

Malcolm, son of Earl Duncan, i. 496.
..... son of Morgund, iv. 695.
Malcolmus, Canonicus de Aberdeen, i. 565; ii. 18, 21.
..... Filius Bartholf, i. 547, 625.
..... Filius Beitulfi, i. 566.
..... Filius Morgundi, i. 154.
..... Persona de Auchterless, i. 561.
..... Pincerna Willelmi Regis, ii. 177.
..... Senescallus, i. 624.
..... Vicecomes de Keith, ii. 243.
Malcolium Mac Molini, iv. 548.
Malcolum Mac Cinatha, iv. 547.
..... Mac Culeon, iv. 546.
..... Mac Maelbrighte, iv. 547.
Malcolus, Judex de Fife, ii. 15.
Malcomson, James, iv. 488.
Maldavate, Matilda de, ii. 140.
Maledoun, son of Mac Bead, iv. 548.
Malesone, Thomas, ii. 230.
Malgirc Mac Tralin, iv. 548.
Malisius, Filius Comitis Fertet, iii. 402; iv. 694.
Malkaruiston, A. de, i. 177.
Malothem Frater Cospatrik, i. 409.
Malrubius, St., ii. 240.
Malsnecta Mac Lulaigh, King of Murray, iv. 547.
Malsnecte Mac Luloig, iv. 547.
Malvoisin, William, see St. Andrews, Bishop of.
Malyceson, Malcolm, iv. 378.
Malyson, Gilbert, Burgess of Aberdeen, iii. 217.
..... John, iv. 198.
Malyson, John, Burgess of Aberdeen, iii. 216.
..... Thomas, Notary, iii. 556; iv. 495.
Man, Alexander, iv. 104.
.... see Ross, Archdeacon of.
..... John, iv. 496.
Maneris, Stephanus, Vicarius de Fintray, iii. 86, 198, 207.
..... Thomas, iv. 495.
Manire, St., i. 135, 136, 137, 641; ii. 85.
Mantair, Frater Christophorus, iii. 251.
Mar, Countess of, Agnes, ii. 15, 16, 18, 19, 20, 21, 24; iv. 690, 691, 692, 694, 696.
.... Elen, iv. 698.
.... Eufamia, iv. 204.
.... Isobel, i. 82; iii. 201; iv. 153, 154, 155, 162, 163, 167, 171, 173, 188, 205, 207, 210, 211, 379, 714.
.... Douglas, i. 83, 147, 425, 626; ii. 9, 314, 363, 372; iv. 234, 235, 241, 242, 243, 244, 246, 247, 248, 249, 252, 253, 254, 256, 257, 259, 260, 262, 263, 264, 265, 266, 267, 268, 269, 272, 273, 274, 275, 276, 277, 282, 283, 284, 285, 286, 287, 288, 289, 292, 293, 294, 295, 299, 300, 309, 310, 373, 486, 730, 732.
.... Stewart, iv. 714.
.... Margaret, iii. 369, 576; iv. 160, 306, 307.
.... Stewart, iv. 724.
.... Muriel, iv. 699.
.... Orabilis, iv. 692.

Mar and Angus, Countess of, Margaret, iv. 161, 165.
..... and Garioch, Countess of, Isobel, i. 231; iv. 166, 167, 753.
..... and Garioch, Countess of, Isobel Douglas, iii. 441; iv. 163, 165, 166, 167, 169, 188.
..... Earl of, Alexander, iv. 174, 185, 186, 204, 208, 211, 212, 234, 235, 253, 254, 256, 257, 260, 262, 263, 264, 265, 266, 267, 268, 269, 270, 276, 281, 282, 283, 284, 285, 286, 287, 288, 289, 290, 291, 292, 293, 294, 295, 296, 297, 298, 299, 300, 301, 302, 387, 392, 452, 735.
.... Stewart, i. 23, 83, 147, 425, 492, 526, 541, 555, 556; ii. 296, 306, 314, 380; iii. 96, 200, 201, 351, 397, 443, 458, 517, 577, 578; iv. 142, 169, 170, 172, 173, 175, 176, 177, 178, 179, 181, 182, 183, 186, 187, 205, 380, 381, 383, 390, 431, 452, 486.
.... Charles, iii. 50, 404.
.... Donald, ii. 312, 313; iii. 125, 369, 416; iv. 151, 181, 198, 235, 305, 306, 307, 600, 698, 699, 700, 701, 702, 704, 705, 709, 710, 711, 712, 715, 725.
.... Duncan, i. 567, 603, 604; ii. 22, 23, 86; iv. 149, 692, 694, 695, 696.
.... G., i. 173, 510; iii. 402; iv. 467, 694.
.... Gartney, i. 88; ii. 313; iv. 197, 198, 205, 235, 305, 306, 695, 707, 712, 715.
Mar, Earl of, Gilchrist, i. 170, 174, 176, 588, 602, 603; ii. 190, 191, 302, 322; iv. 693, 694, 695.
.... Gillocher, i. 154; iv. 691.
.... James, iv. 744, 745.
.... Douglas, i. 83.
.... John, i. 70, 83, 531, 570, 591, 643; ii. 11; iii. 197, 397, 398, 418, 447, 474, 475, 522, 580; iv. 304, 305, 306, 307, 308, 313, 317, 438, 736, 737, 749.
.... Lord Erskine, iv. 237, 241, 242, 243, 244, 245, 246, 247, 252, 253, 254, 262, 265, 272, 273, 275, 747, 748.
.... Stewart, i. 83, 656.
.... Malcolm, iv. 695.
.... Martach, iv. 690, 691.
.... Morgund, i. 632; ii. 14, 16, 18, 19, 20, 21, 22, 23, 24; iv. 690, 691, 692, 694, 695, 696.
.... Robert, iii. 441; iv. 49, 252, 253, 256, 263, 265, 270, 271, 272.
.... Cochran, i. 34, 83.
.... Erskine, iv. 190, 191, 197, 198, 241, 242, 243, 244, 254, 305, 306, 393, 452.
.... Rotheri, iv. 691.
.... Thomas, i. 82, 151, 232, 537, 539, 548, 549, 618; ii. 10, 25, 305, 312, 314, 387; iii. 369, 416, 573; iv. 147, 155, 156, 157, 158, 159, 160, 175, 198, 276, 306, 373, 451, 467, 715, 716, 717, 718, 719, 720, 721, 722, 723, 726, 752.

Mar, Earl of, William, i. 340, 372, 470, 548, 603; ii. 23, 24; iii. 125, 141, 181; iv. 149, 692, 696, 697.
.... Douglas, i. 82.
..... and Garioch, Earl of, John, i. 551, 552; ii. 316.
.... Robert, iv. 201, 235, 734.
..... Comes de, Alexander pretensus, iv. 433.
.... Master of, Thomas, iv. 189, 190.
..... Mormaor of, Domhnall Mac Eimhin Mic Cainigh, iv. 691.
..... Ade, ii. 263.
..... Alexander, Burgess of Aberdeen, i. 472; iii. 46, 147, 452, 507, 508.
..... David, iv. 354, 526.
.... brother of Earl of, iv. 712.
.... brother of Donald, Earl of, ii. 313.
.... son of Duncan, Earl of, i. 604.
.... see Murray, Treasurer of.
.... of Kingshill, iii. 215, 220, 568.
.... Baillie of Aberdeen, iii. 278.
.... Burgess of Aberdeen, iii. 147.
..... Donald, son of William, Earl of, ii. 24.
..... Duncan, iv. 702.
.... son of William, Earl of, ii. 24.
..... Elyne of, iv. 205, 235.
Mar, Gartnetus de, filius comitis de Mar, iv. 703, 704, 705, 706, 707.
..... Gilbert, iv. 702.
.... Burgess of Aberdeen, iii. 216.
..... James, iv. 702.
..... Johannes, Balivus de Aberdeen, iii. 144, 184, 452, 454, 508.
..... John, ii. 327; iv. 190.
.... of Kingswallis, iii. 217.
.... Baillie of Linlithgow, iv. 702.
.... Burgess of Aberdeen, iii. 155, 272, 548.
.... Canon of Aberdeen, i. 539, 548; ii. 10; iv. 155, 451, 467, 716, 717, 718, 752.
.... Chaplain, i. 549.
.... Parson of Invernochty, i. 618; iv. 723.
.... Sheriff-depute of Aberdeen, iii. 14, 536.
..... Malcolm, son of Gartney, Earl of, iv. 695.
.... son of Morgrund, Earl of, ii. 17.
..... Sir Matthew, iii. 428.
..... Morgrum, father of Duncan, Earl of, i. 603, 604.
..... Morgund, son of Gillocher, Earl of, iv. 147, 148, 149, 150, 151.
..... Robert, Burgess of Aberdeen, iii. 216.
..... Thomas, Burgess of Aberdeen, iii. 274.
..... William, ii. 19, 20, 109.
.... son of Duncan, Earl of, ii. 23.

Mar, William, Burgess of Aberdeen, iii. 87.
.... Reader and Exhorter at Banchory-Devenick, i. 226.
March, Earl of, George, ii. 31, 386, 351; iii. 96; iv. 88.
.... Patrick, ii. 37; iii. 573.
..... and Murray, Earl of, Patrick, i. 540, 550; iv. 156.
Margaret, Queen, wife of Alexander III., iv. 697.
.... wife of James III., iii. 453, 523; iv. 64.
.... wife of James IV., iii. 55, 453; iv. 64, 529.
..... of Norway, Queen of Scots, i. 162; iv. 602.
..... daughter of Alexander III., i. 286.
..... sister of David II., ii. 49.
Marischal, Countess of, Margaret Keith, iv. 594, 595, 623, 625.
.... Mary Erskine, i. 249.
..... Earl of, George, i. 29, 96, 187, 191, 400, 416, 417, 420; ii. 423, 437, 439; iii. 383, 571; iv. 556, 557, 558, 594, 626, 627, 629, 630, 768.
.... John, i. 438.
..... Earl of, Robert, i. 159; iv. 553.
.... William, i. 126, 187, 281, 321, 383, 385, 417, 438, 570, 610; ii. 93, 103, 366, 390, 431, 435, 444, 445; iii. 117, 118, 128, 129, 146, 148, 213, 301, 327, 328, 329, 330, 417, 522, 540, 541; iv. 30, 32, 34, 35, 36, 40, 71, 77, 474, 555, 595, 597, 598, 620, 623, 624, 625, 638.
Marischal, Master of, William, ii. 400; iii. 117; iv. 598, 623, 638.
..... Affrica, i. 316, 317.
..... Alexander, iv. 556.
..... David, ii. 42; iv. 695.
..... Janet, Heiress of Esselmont, i. 304.
..... John, Notary, iii. 306.
..... Malcolm, i. 316, 317, 524; iii. 93, 263.
.... of Meikle Arveninche, i. 316.
..... Richard, i. 625; ii. 195.
..... William, i. 316, 317.
Marjorybanks, Johannes, i. 385.
..... Thomas, iv. 332.
.... de Ratho, iii. 36.
Mark, Adamus, iv. 457.
Marleswanus, ii. 15.
Marnan, St., i. 597, 598; ii. 189.
Marno, Alexander, iv. 347.
..... Willelmus, iv. 347.
Marshe, Johannes, iv. 108.
Martin, Frater Alanus, iii. 251.
..... Henry, iii. 109.
..... Hugh, ii. 235, 236.
..... James, minister of Peterugie, ii. 444.
..... Robert, iv. 36.
.... Vicar of Garvock, iii. 541.
..... Roger, iv. 108.
..... William, ii. 45.
.... Reader at Banff, i. 228.
Martinus, Medicus Willelmi Regis, ii. 119.

Mary, Queen of Scots, i. 17, 83, 113, 424, 425, 431, 528, 531, 612, 621; ii. 87, 95, 99, 174, 225, 272, 320, 369; iii. 35, 186, 193, 215, 344, 349, 359, 478, 550; iv. 100, 101, 223, 234, 252, 255, 275, 291, 298, 322, 326, 330, 333, 353, 364, 365, 421, 443, 444, 445, 446, 447, 448, 457, 463, 475, 524, 530, 531, 552, 553, 562, 576, 577, 583, 584, 585, 594, 620, 634, 635, 636, 637, 645, 646, 648, 657, 667, 672, 677, 742, 743.
..... Queen of Great Britain, iii. 355, 390, 415.
..... Queen, wife of James II., iv. 185.
..... of Lorraine, Queen, wife of James V., iv. 758, 759.
..... Queen of Man, and Countess of Stratherne, iv. 701.
Mason, Alexander, see Fyvie, Prior of.
.... iii. 59.
..... Andrew, Canon of Monymusk, iii. 489, 493.
..... George, ii. 333.
..... Hector, ii. 263.
..... John, ii. 431.
..... Stein, Minister at Insch, i. 227.
..... Willelmus, Monachus de Lindores, iii. 394, 410.
Massie, Alexander, Notary, ii. 333, 355, 357; iii. 29; iv. 46.
..... Andrew, Notary, iv. 689.
..... Matthew, iv. 46.
Matadin the Judge, iv. 548.
Matain Mac Caerill, iv. 546.
Matalane, Patricius, iv. 63.
Mathuluoch, St., i. 632.
Matilda, Queen, wife of David I., i. 246, 625.
Mattheus, Cancellarius, ii. 283.
..... Capellanus, ii. 120, 121; iv. 735.
.... Matthei Episcopi Aberdonensis, i. 154.
..... Clericus, i. 293.
.... Matthei Episcopi Aberdonensis, ii. 120.
..... Falconarius, i. 247.
..... Senescallus Matthei Episcopi Aberdonensis, i. 154.
Matthew, Andrew, iii. 331.
.... Notary, iii. 187, 196.
..... James, iv. 347.
..... Parson of Aberdour, ii. 120, 121, 373.
Matthews, William, iv. 20.
Matthieson, Alexander, iii. 46; iv. 349.
..... Andrew, i. 573.
..... John, Notary, iv. 651.
..... Richard, iv. 462.
Maule, David, iv. 678.
Mauleverer, Simon, ii. 398.
Maunsel, Walter, ii. 30.
Mauricius, Capellanus, i. 567.
..... Clericus Episcopi Aberdonensis, ii. 120, 121.
..... Coquus, ii. 19.
..... Persona de Tarves, i. 154.
..... Rector de Lumplin, i. 455.
Mautolent, Willelmus, i. 295.
Mauuinesone, Andreas, ii. 336.
Maveris, Stephanus, iv. 451.
Mavor, Dr. William Fordyce, i. 406.
Maxwell, Eustacius de, iv. 114.

Maxwell, J. de, Camerarius, i. 258.
..... John, see Ross, Bishop of.
.... i. 624; ii. 119.
.... Knight, i. 274.
.... of Pollock, i. 330.
.... Chaplain, iii. 154.
.... Notary, i. 396.
..... Robert, i. 502.
Mazota, St., i. 274, 275, 596; iii. 289, 290, 291.
Mearns, Alexander, iii. 474.
..... William, iii. 474, 475.
Medan, St., i. 432; ii. 385, 386.
Meggot filius David, i. 311.
Meikle, Richard, Notary, iii. 12.
Meldrum of That Ilk, i. 558.
..... of Hatton, i. 508.
..... Alexander, ii. 218, 334, 335; iv. 188.
.... of Fyvie, i. 271, 272.
.... of Hatton, iii. 572.
..... Andrew, i. 287, 288; ii. 319; iv. 740.
.... of Fyvie, iii. 45.
.... apparent of Jackston, iii. 45.
.... of Rothiebrisbane, iii. 45.
..... Archibald, of Cleesch, iv. 49.
..... Donald, ii. 38.
..... George, ii. 328, 329, 330, 331, 334, 335, 336.
.... of Auchneive, iii. 468.
.... of Fyvie, Knight, i. 494; iii. 256, 567; iv. 346, 624.
.... i. 290, 315, 504; ii. 333, 334, 335, 336; iii. 65, 70, 78, 94, 105, 126, 170, 255, 256, 259, 305, 340, 408, 411, 553; iv. 37, 111, 112, 113, 121, 231, 417.
Meldrum, George, of Pitkerry, ii. 11, 367.
..... Georgius, Feodator de Fyvie, iv. 442.
..... Henry, Prebendary of Kelmore, iii. 511.
..... James, ii. 172.
.... of Hatton, iii. 572.
.... Notary, iii. 56.
..... John, i. 269, 271, 319; ii. 38, 333, 367; iii. 45; iv. 579.
.... of That Ilk, iii. 417.
.... Burgess of Aberdeen, ii. 333; iii. 259.
.... Chaplain, iii. 44.
..... Margareta, socia Willelmi de Achneef, iii. 43.
..... Patrick, iii. 45; iv. 456, 579.
.... of Edane, iii. 34.
..... Philip, i. 196, 470, 498; ii. 146.
.... Knight, i. 287, 288, 561, 562; ii. 319.
..... Robert, ii. 367.
.... of Collyhill, iii. 45.
..... Thomas, Knight, iii. 263.
.... of Auchynewe, i. 273, 274.
.... of Edane, i. 290; ii. 370; iii. 553, 568; iv. 38.
..... Thomas, of Fyvie, iii. 536, 537.
..... Sir Thomas, Parson of Auchindoir, iv. 451, 467.
..... W. de, Knight, i. 340.
..... William, i. 269, 270, 271, 319, 324, 470; ii. 74, 218, 334, 387; iii. 428; iv. 722, 723.
.... of That Ilk, i. 344, 345, 558.
.... of Achneef, iv. 443.

Meldrum, William, of Achneef and Petkarry, iii. 43.
.... of Fyvie, i. 497, 498, 504; ii. 210, 212, 213, 271, 328, 329, 330, 331, 332, 367; iii. 45, 259, 535, 536, 537, 554, 567; iv. 111, 112, 113.
.... of Hatton, iii. 572.
.... of Meldrum, iii. 61, 417.
.... Parish Clerk of Fyvie, ii. 335.
.... Sheriff of Aberdeen, i. 618.
.... Vicar of Brechin, iii. 511.
Melgin, Alexander, iv. 688.
Melgum, Viscount of, John, i. 519.
Melrose, Abbot of, A., i. 174.
.... Andrew, iv. 119.
.... Lawrence, iii. 428.
Melton, Sir Ralph of, ii. 319.
Melville, Andrew, i. 167, 387.
.... of Camnay, iii. 263.
..... Galfridus de, ii. 15.
..... George, iv. 117.
.... Minister at Newhills, iii. 215.
..... Gregorius de, ii. 56, 72.
..... John, i. 470.
.... of Harviston, iii. 441; iv. 202.
..... Malcolm, ii. 303.
..... P. de, Sheriff of Aberdeen, ii. 19.
..... Philip, ii. 55, 56, 57, 72.
.... Knight, i. 338.
Melvin, Alexander, Marus Deputatus Vicecomitatus de Aberdeen, ii. 335; iii. 15.
Melvin, Andrew, Burgess of Aberbrothock, i. 512.
..... John, i. 595; iii. 119.
..... Frater Thomas, iii. 251.
..... Walter, iv. 99.
Meneth, Malisius de, iii. 83, 84.
Meniers, Robertus de, iii. 338.
Menimius, St., ii. 216.
Menstrie, Alexander de, iv. 363.
Menteith, Earl of, Malyse, ii. 401; iii. 327.
.... Robert, ii. 305.
.... W. Cumyn, i. 337.
.... Walter, iv. 698.
..... Lady Elyne, wife of Sir John Menteith, iv. 188.
..... Lord, John, iv. 198.
..... Alexander, de Maner, iv. 304.
..... David, Notary, iii. 580.
..... Johannes de, i. 379; iii. 211.
.... Miles, iv. 612.
..... Sir John, Lord of Arran, iv. 188, 615.
..... Maleis, i. 323.
..... Murdachus de, ii. 227.
..... Walterus de, de Pedinacalane, i. 323.
..... Willelmus, de Kers, Miles, iv. 202, 304.
Menthet, John, iii. 51.
..... Walter, of Petmacaldor, iii. 51.
Menzies of Durn, ii. 94.
..... of Findon, i. 264.
..... of Fothergill, i. 579.
..... of Kinmundy, i. 110.
..... of Pitfoddels, i. 111, 254, 300.
..... Alexander, i. 518; ii. 431; iii. 32, 278; iv. 84, 212, 261, 354, 577.

Menzies, Alexander, younger of Ferryhill, iii. 193, 194.
.... of Findon, iii. 446.
.... of Laskgowny, iii. 144, 145, 146, 147, 148.
.... of Pitfoddels, iii. 273, 276, 277, 287, 288; iv. 78, 92.
.... of Watterton, iii. 196.
.... Burgess of Aberdeen, ii. 213; iii. 216, 274, 507.
.... Provost of Aberdeen, iii. 46, 420, 458, 459, 464, 508, 552, 560.
..... Andrew, i. 283; ii. 327; iii. 287, 288; iv. 88.
.... Burgess of Aberdeen, iii. 215, 217, 272.
..... Charles, iii. 287.
..... David, iii. 48, 278.
.... of Ferryhill, iii. 195.
..... David, junior of Laskgowny, iii. 146.
.... senior of Laskgowny, iii. 146, 147.
.... of Middle Pitfoddels, iii. 276, 287, 288, 452, 454, 510.
.... of Pitfoddels, i. 314; iv. 42.
.... Burgess of Aberdeen, iii. 217, 258, 508.
.... Minister at Banchory-Devenick, i. 226.
..... Edward, Chaplain, iii. 220.
.... Notary, iii. 195.
..... Francis, of Balgowny, iii. 175.
..... George, iv. 660.
.... of Pitfoddels, iii. 287, 288.
Menzies, George, Heir of Pitfoddels, i. 438.
.... Burgess of Aberdeen, iii. 216.
..... Gilbert, i. 209, 307, 556; iii. 7, 8, 48, 278, 287, 404; iv. 42, 72, 188, 200, 207, 341, 342, 390, 396, 454, 532, 577, 660.
.... of Bogfarlay, iii. 215.
.... of Cowlie, iii. 72, 73.
.... of Findon, iv. 232, 635.
.... of Kandars, iii. 287, 288.
.... of Knappernay, iii. 157.
.... of Laskgowny, iii. 142, 143, 144, 266.
.... of Middle Pitfoddels and Findon, iii. 264, 265, 268, 269, 270, 271, 272, 287, 288, 343, 359.
.... of Middle Pitfoddels, iii. 276, 287, 288.
..... Sir Gilbert, of Pitfoddels, i. 64; iii. 284, 285, 286.
..... Gilbert, of Pitfoddels, Provost of Aberdeen, i. 78, 207, 314, 527; iii. 53, 71, 155, 248, 411, 452, 454, 564, 565.
.... iii. 197, 278, 279, 280, 287, 288, 568; iv. 99.
.... younger of Pitfoddels, iii. 287.
.... junior of Tullo, iii. 217.
.... Burgess of Aberdeen, i. 393.
.... senior, Burgess of Aberdeen, iii. 216.
.... Provost of Aberdeen, i. 622.

Menzies, Gilbert, Sheriff-depute of Aberdeen, iii. 536.
..... James, iii. 287; iv. 99.
.... of Laskgowny, iii. 144, 146, 508.
..... John, iii. 46.
.... of Balgowny, iii. 157.
.... of Laskgowny, iii. 144, 146, 147.
.... Professor of Divinity, i. 50, 51, 52.
..... Patrick, i. 209; iii. 278.
.... of Ferryhill, iii. 195; iv. 660.
.... Burgess of Aberdeen, iii. 215.
..... Sir Paul, of Kinmundy, i. 63.
..... Robert, iii. 278.
..... Sir Robert, of Weyme, iii. 286, 287, 288.
..... Robert, Burgess of Aberdeen, iii. 217.
.... Notary, iv. 576.
..... Thomas, i. 118, 579; iii. 278; iv. 99.
.... of Balgownie, iii. 157, 288.
..... Sir Thomas, of Cults, i. 81.
..... Thomas, of Drone, iii. 252, 279, 280, 288.
.... of Durne, iv. 660.
..... Sir Thomas, of Pitfoddels, iii. 288.
..... Thomas, of Pitfoddels, i. 310; ii. 366; iii. 287, 288; iv. 346, 354, 526, 532, 577, 624, 625, 635, 660, 670, 683.
.... Provost of Aberdeen, iii. 129, 184, 195, 215, 216, 220, 256, 277, 278, 279, 288, 564, 565, 568.
Menzies, Thomas, Burgess of Aberdeen, iii. 215, 216.
.... Provost of Aberdeen, iv. 100.
..... William, iii. 278.
.... of Balgowny, iii. 175.
.... of Pitfoddels, iii. 287.
.... Younger of Pitfoddels, iii. 287.
Merchand, Frater Willelmus, ii. 237, 365.
Merlswannus, Filius Comitis, ii. 428.
Mersar, Andrew, ii. 389, 390; iv. 83, 84.
.... Knight, iii. 263.
.... of Mekilloure, ii. 222, 223.
..... Henry, of Audy, iv. 124.
.... of Mekilloure, iv. 123.
..... Lawrence, iv. 682.
.... of Audy, iv. 122.
.... of Mekillour, Knight, iv. 123.
.... of Muklure, iv. 304.
..... Michael, ii. 222; iii. 263.
..... Robert, iv. 123, 124, 146.
.... of Balleif, iv. 120.
.... Parson at Banchory-Devenick, i. 226.
.... Prebendary of Banchory-Devenick, iii. 255, 381, 400.
.... Provost of Perth, iii. 243, 324.
..... Thomas, Advocatus Aberdonensis, iv. 498.
.... Aldermannus de Aberdeen, iii. 45.

Mersar, William, i. 180, 182; iv. 537.
Mes, Alevinus de, iv. 697.
Mesone, Willelmus, iv. 734.
Meston, Professor William, i. 402; ii. 41.
Meyners, Alexander de, iii. 211.
..... Robertus de, ii. 109.
Meyness, Alexander, of Forthyrgill, ii. 389.
Michael, Clericus, ii. 15, 192; iii. 5; iv. 693.
.... Andree Episcopi Moraviensis, ii. 193.
.... Bricii Episcopi Moraviensis, ii. 191.
.... Matthei Episcopi Aberdonensis, ii. 120.
.... Willelmi Episcopi Sancti Andree, i. 176, 257.
..... Filius Morgundi, iv. 116.
..... Pincerna, ii. 169, 279.
..... William, iv. 488, 491.
Michaelis, Robertus, de Hyrdmanstouna, Notarius, iii. 326.
Middleton, Alexander, ii. 335; iv. 533.
.... Notary, ii. 184; iv. 281.
..... Georgius, iii. 119; iv. 32, 555, 556, 579.
.... Economus, ii. 431.
..... Henry, i. 417; iv. 556.
..... Major-General, iii. 280.
..... Patrick, iii. 278, 279; iv. 36.
..... Robert, iii. 278, 279.
..... Violet, wife of George Leslie of That Ilk, i. 551.
..... Walter, ii. 335.
..... William, ii. 60.
Millar, David, iv. 478.
Millar, Jacobus, i. 385; iv. 366.
..... John, iv. 52.
Milne, Adam, iv. 348.
..... Alexander, of Lunfurd, iii. 457.
..... Andrew, ii. 432.
..... Gawane, i. 573.
..... John, ii. 45, 432; iv. 348.
..... Robert, Burgess of Aberdeen, iv. 656.
..... Thomas, i. 302.
.... Reader at Bathelnie, i. 229.
.... Reader at Dyce, i. 230.
..... William, i. 389, 390; ii. 436; iii. 15; iv. 42, 348.
Mitchell of Thainstoun, i. 574.
..... Alexander, iv. 347.
..... Cadie, ii. 242.
..... David, see Aberdeen, Bishop of.
..... Gilbert, Monk of Lindores, iii. 391, 394.
..... James, iv. 347.
..... Janet, mother of Dr. Alexander Geddes, ii. 143.
..... John, Reader at Lumfanan, i. 229.
..... Patrick, Reader at Glass, ii. 152.
..... Thomas, of Banabeg, iv. 762.
..... William, iv. 347.
.... Monk of Lindores, iii. 410.
Mitchelson, John, i. 394.
.... Canon of Aberdeen, iii. 227, 228.
.... Parson of Forbes, iv. 444, 445.

Mitchelson, John, Prebendary of Forbes, iv. 371.
..... Robert, iii. 8.
..... Thomas, Notary, iii. 410.
..... William, of Sleoche, iii. 519.
Modan, St., i. 245; ii. 386.
Moigne, Johannes, de Park de Drum, i. 277; iii. 294, 295, 296.
..... Walterus, ii. 35; iii. 293.
.... de, Miles, i. 379, 538, 548, 618; ii. 10; iv. 156, 159, 716, 723.
Moir of Invernettie, i. 110, 414.
..... of Stonywood, i. 111, 238, 414.
..... Adam, Knight, ii. 340.
..... Andreas, apud Bruges, iii. 274.
..... David, ii. 262.
..... John, ii. 262.
..... Ranald, Chamberlain, i. 498; ii. 35.
..... Robert, iv. 591.
..... Thomas, ii. 261.
..... William, ii. 435.
.... of Invernettie, i. 418.
Moll, Ansell of, ii. 398.
Mollison, Thomas, Notary, iv. 500.
.... Town-Clerk of Aberdeen, i. 355.
..... William, Burgess of Aberdeen, iii. 146.
Moloch, St., i. 620, 649; ii. 253; iv. 489.
Moncreiff, Andrew, ii. 168, 188.
.... junior, ii. 173, 188, 251.
..... Friar George, iii. 251.
..... James, ii. 39.
Moncreiff, William, ii. 251.
Moncur, Michael de, Miles, i. 625.
..... Robertus, iv. 439.
..... Walterus, de Slains, ii. 335.
Monedy, Fynlaus de, ii. 211, 212.
Moneymcyll, Alexander, Prebendary of Forbes, iv. 371.
Monimeil, Alexander, Rector de Forbes, iii. 82.
Monorgund, Gilbert, of That Ilk, iii. 125, 135, 136.
Monro, George, of Foulis, ii. 222.
..... Hugo de, ii. 390; iv. 84.
..... Robertus de, Ballivus Comitis de Rosse, iii. 532.
..... Thomas, iv. 76.
Monros, Johannes de, Vicarius de Tarves, i. 335.
Monte Alto, see Mowat.
..... Bernardus de, Miles, iv. 752.
..... Elena de, iv. 158.
..... Jacobus de, ii. 38; iv. 158, 717, 752.
..... Johannes de, i. 472; iv. 333.
..... Patricius de, i. 471, 498; ii. 332.
..... Ricardus, Capellanus, iii. 531.
..... Robertus de, i. 269, 561.
..... Willelmus de, Miles, iii. 531; iv. 752.
.... de Ferne, Miles, i. 472.
.... de Loscragy, i. 472.
Monteforti, Petrus de, Clericus, iv. 609.
Montfichet, Philip of, i. 605; iv. 694.
..... William, ii. 138.
Montgomery, Lord, Alexander, i. 285, 427, 542; ii. 343; iii. 578; iv. 77, 193, 212, 261.

Montgomery, Walter, iv. 431.
Montrose, Duke of, David, iii. 398.
..... Earl of, John, iii. 383; iv. 770.
.... William, iii. 249.
..... Marquis of, James, i. 587.
Monyhe, Walterus, Miles, iv. 719.
Monymele, Sir Alexander, Chaplain, i. 582.
Monymusk, Prior of, Alan, i. 178.
.... Alexander Spence, iii. 489.
.... Andrew, ii. 37; iv. 159, 374.
.... Brice, i. 170, 175, 176.
.... David, i. 179, 180, 182, 183; ii. 163; iv. 778.
.... Farlie, iii. 484, 485, 486, 487, 488, 489, 490, 491, 492, 493, 494, 496, 497, 498.
.... John Aikenheid, iii. 484, 485, 486, 487, 488, 489, 490, 494, 496.
.... Elphinstone, i. 170.
.... Hay, i. 170.
.... Richard Strachan, ii. 133; iii. 489.
.... Robert, i. 184, 185; iv. 348, 349.
.... Forbes, i. 170.
.... Strachan, i. 171.
..... Coadjutor of Monastery of, John Elphinstone, i. 179, 180, 182.
..... Usufructuarius de, Johannes, iv. 348.
..... Henry, i. 585; iii. 573.
..... John of, Knight, i. 512; iii. 539.
Monymusk, Malcolm of, i. 511.
..... Thomas of, Knight, i. 340.
Monypenny, David, Prebendary of Rhynie, ii. 179.
..... Thomas, iv. 330.
..... William, iv. 394.
.... of Ardweny and Conkirsalte, Knight, iv. 77, 78.
Moor, Dr., Professor of Medicine in King's College, i. 416.
Mordington, Agnes de, i. 627.
..... Petrus de, Miles, i. 627.
More Mac Gillereacht, Donaldus, ii. 261.
Moreis, Findlayus, iv. 347.
Morevilla, Ricardus de, Constabularius, i. 624.
..... Willelmus de, Constabularius, i. 496; ii. 233.
Morgundi, David, filius Jacobi, ii. 286.
Morgundus, Capellanus, iii. 113.
..... Vilius Albe, iv. 116.
Morgunn Mac Donnchaid, iv. 549.
Morham, Sir Herberd de, ii. 29.
Moricius, filius Alani, ii. 130.
..... filius Walteri, iv. 378.
Moridac, Mac Morcum, iv. 546.
Morise, Alexander, iv. 499.
Morison of Bognie, i. 110, 520; ii. 321, 325.
..... Fergusius, iv. 131.
..... George, of Pitfour, Advocate, iv. 48.
..... John, iv. 48.
.... of Auchintoul, ii. 426.
.... Sheriff of Murthlack, ii. 262, 263.
..... Patrick, Notary, iv. 305.
..... Robert, iv. 27.
..... William, of Pitfour, iv. 47, 48.

Morthach, Domina Eva, Domina de Rothes, ii. 287.
Mortimer of Craigievar, i. 598, 599, 635.
..... Alan, i. 599.
..... Alexander, i. 606; ii. 353; iv. 324, 326.
.... of Craigievar, i. 290, 315; ii. 11, 44, 45; iii. 33, 52, 65, 78, 105, 257, 260, 276, 305, 335, 375, 384, 418, 448, 449, 551, 553, 563, 589, 592; iv. 37, 50, 350, 351, 442.
.... of Innenteir, iv. 367.
..... Bernard, iv. 753.
.... of Craigievar, i. 527, 529.
..... Duncan, iv. 143, 348, 352, 353.
..... Edmund, i. 606.
..... Ewmond, iii. 582; iv. 350.
..... George, of Auchinbadie, ii. 370; iv. 147.
.... of Auchinvaira, iii. 34.
.... of Glencatt, iv. 354.
..... Henry, Exhorter at Alveth, i. 227.
..... James, ii. 317; iv. 328.
.... Fiar of Craigievar, i. 606; iv. 354, 355.
..... Johannes, Ballivus, de Strathaluey, iii. 576; iv. 728.
..... John, i. 282; iv. 326, 347, 348, 350, 352, 353, 354, 355, 727, 756.
.... of Auchinbady, iii. 542, 586.
.... of Craigievar, iii. 35; iv. 327, 354, 355, 361.
Mortimer, John, Younger of Craigievar, iv. 361.
..... Captain John, of Glencatt, iv. 354.
..... John, of Innenteir, iv. 323, 324.
..... Malcolm, i. 541.
..... Marcus de, ii. 303.
..... Patrick, Baron of Craigievar, iv. 370.
..... Roger, ii. 233, 313.
..... Thomas, ii. 45; iii. 393; iv. 324.
..... William, ii. 16, 45.
.... of Craigievar, iii. 222, 340; iv. 144, 325, 326, 348, 350, 351, 352, 353, 367.
.... of Glencatt, iv. 354.
Morton, Earl of, James, ii. 93, 408; iii. 309, 417, 521; iv. 51, 77, 761.
Mosman, John, Notary, iv. 672.
Mostrop, Johannes, i. 385.
Moultry, Henry, iii. 209.
Mowat, see Monte Alto.
..... of Balquholly, i. 110, 464, 465, 466, 471, 472, 592.
..... of Fowlis, i. 594.
..... Alexander, iv. 76.
.... of Loscragy, i. 478; ii. 331; iii. 99, 303, 458; iv. 92.
..... Andrew, ii. 433; iii. 156.
.... Exhorter at Turriff, i. 228.
..... George, of Ingliston, i. 465.
..... Gilbert, ii. 369; iv. 76, 77.
..... James, i. 594; iv. 281, 544.
.... of Loscragie, iv. 257.
..... John, i. 394; iii. 334; iv. 81, 188, 323.
.... of Fowlis, iv. 753.

Mowat, John, of Loscragie, i. 290, 315, 437, 471; ii. 11; iii. 64, 65, 78, 90, 94, 97, 99, 126, 170, 193, 257, 266, 335, 342, 375, 384, 421, 448, 459, 516, 519, 530, 533, 536, 553, 561, 589, 591, 592; iv. 37, 50, 94, 111, 121, 206, 442.
..... Magnus, of Balquholly, iii. 91, 128.
..... Malcolm, ii. 369.
..... Michael, i. 465.
..... Patrick, of Balquholly, i. 577; iii. 20.
..... Richard, i. 404.
..... Walterus, Scutifer, iii. 267.
..... William, of Foulesmouat, iv. 323, 753.
.... Prebendary of Ruthven and Dippil, ii. 188.
Mowbray, Alexander, ii. 305.
..... Galfridus de, iv. 153, 714.
..... Philippus de, ii. 119; iii. 177.
.... Miles, i. 277.
..... Willelmus de, iv. 612, 613.
Mowin, Robertus, iv. 4.
Mowye, Alexander, iv. 441.
Moygnes, Walterus, Miles, iv. 374.
Muirton, James, see Murray, Precentor of.
Mulikyn, Thomas, Burgensis de Perth, iii. 122.
Mulsone, Willelmus, ii. 184.
Multray, Jacobus, Vicarius de Carnbe, iii. 442.
Munfort, Robertus de, i. 409.
Murdach, Walterus, ii. 27, 233, 234.
Mure, Alexander, Baro Calvalæ, iii. 87.
..... Rankinus, iv. 65.
Murehead, Richard, iv. 36.
Murehead, Richard, see Glasgow Dean of.
Murison, Alexander, iv. 66.
..... Andrew, Chaplain, iv. 395.
Murray, Archdeacon of, Henry Harvey, iii. 265, 266.
.... Hugh, ii. 143, 144, 193, 304.
.... John, iv. 75.
.... Randolph, ii. 283, 284, 288.
.... Robert, ii. 302.
.... William, ii. 195.
..... Bishop of, A., i. 257; ii. 217.
.... Alexander Bar, i. 477; ii. 175, 197, 200, 217; iv. 84, 374, 375, 376.
.... Andrew Foreman, iii. 104.
.... de Moravia, i. 527; ii. 136, 138, 139, 143, 144, 154, 156, 157, 168, 169, 179, 187, 193, 210, 211, 214, 215, 226, 243, 279, 280, 281, 282, 283, 284, 285, 286, 287, 288, 300, 301, 303, 316, 318; iv. 451, 695.
.... Stewart, iii. 524; iv. 214.
.... Archibald, iv. 74, 75, 573, 600, 607.
.... Brice of Douglas, ii. 55, 169, 170, 179, 180, 188, 190, 191, 192, 193, 243, 244, 278, 279, 281, 300, 302; iv. 693.
.... David Murray, i. 342.
.... Stewart, ii. 162, 163, 164; iv. 403, 405, 406.
.... George Douglas, ii. 188.
.... John Innes, ii. 162.

Murray, Bishop of, John Pilmore, ii. 313; iv. 712.
.... Winchester, iii. 267; iv. 79, 200, 206, 735.
.... Patrick Hepburn, ii. 250, 251.
.... R., ii. 232.
.... Richard, i. 292, 496; ii. 128, 136, 281, 300, 302.
.... Simon, ii. 194, 195, 281.
.... William Spynie, ii. 207, 400; iv. 615.
.... Tulloch, iii. 101, 115, 314, 347, 511, 579.
..... Chancellor of, Alexander Stewart, ii. 301.
.... Andrew, ii. 195, 301.
.... Henry of Pluscardine, ii. 301.
.... James Gordon, i. 628; ii. 301; iv. 483.
.... John of Inverness, ii. 301.
.... Robert Gordon, ii. 301.
.... William, ii. 288, 301.
.... of Creswell, ii. 301.
.... Gordon, ii. 301.
..... Dean of, Alexander Dunbar, ii. 188.
.... Archibald, ii. 195.
.... Freskinus, ii. 143, 144, 170, 192, 279, 280.
.... Gavin Dunbar, i. 504; iv. 36.
.... James Stewart, i. 427, 542, 606; iii. 444.
.... Robert St Clair, iv. 375.
Murray, Dean of, Simon, ii. 285.
.... William Dun, ii. 217.
..... Precentor of, Adam Gordon, i. 518; iii. 243, 414, 560.
.... Alexander Gordon, iii. 70.
.... Lyon, ii. 338.
.... James Muirton, ii. 188.
.... John, ii. 195.
.... Richard, ii. 288, 304.
.... William de Spynie, iv. 375.
..... Treasurer of, David Mar, i. 539.
.... Henry, ii. 170, 193, 280, 284, 304.
.... Robert, ii. 195, 288.
.... William Chisholm, ii. 199; iv. 375.
..... Countess of, Joneta, iii. 588, 589.
..... Earl of, James, ii. 358; iii. 195; iv. 232, 678, 679, 742, 743, 745, 746.
.... Dunbar, iii. 231.
.... Stewart, i. 83; ii. 87, 91, 92, 381; iii. 349, 386.
.... John, ii. 98; iv. 161.
.... Dunbar, i. 251, 499; iv. 441.
.... Patrick, iii. 573.
.... Thomas, ii. 107; iii. 231, 587; iv. 441.
.... Dunbar, iv. 175, 176.
.... Randolph, i. 277, 342, 379; ii. 36, 106, 218, 269, 340, 395; iii. 211, 212, 292, 313; iv. 710, 711, 712, 760.

Murray of Blackbarony, i. 333.
..... of Boharm, ii. 276.
..... of Cowbairdy, ii. 324.
..... Adam de, ii. 159.
..... Alexander, of Cowbairdy, ii. 211, 212, 229; iii. 592; iv. 590.
.... of Cowberny, iv. 591.
.... of Culbyn, iii. 261, 262, 263, 264, 270.
.... and Newtoun, ii. 220.
.... of Glasvell, ii. 372; iii. 166, 167.
..... Andrew, i. 389, 390, 560; ii. 279; iii. 13; iv. 706, 707.
.... Knight, iii. 369, 429; iv. 151, 152.
.... of Ardoch, iii. 46, 257.
..... Sir Andrew, of Bothwell, ii. 160, 277.
..... Andrew, of Culbardine, ii. 221.
.... Burgess of Aberdeen, iii. 357.
.... junior, Burgess of Aberdeen, iii. 357.
..... Cristopherus, iv. 747.
..... David, ii. 237, 366.
.... of Ardoch, iii. 181, 182, 256, 257.
.... of Tulibardin, Knight, iv. 119, 197.
..... Sir Freskyn, iv. 600.
..... Freskyn, ii. 401, 402.
.... of Duffus, ii. 277.
..... George, iv. 34, 640.
..... Brother Gilbert, iv. 29, 32.
Murray, Gilbert, iii. 129.
.... Monk of Deer, ii. 431.
..... Hugo de, of Duffus, ii. 401.
.... ii. 301.
..... Isobel, daughter of John Ranulph, Earl of, i. 37.
..... James, ii. 326.
.... of Cowbairdy, iv. 346.
.... Canon of Monymusk, i. 180, 181, 182; iii. 493, 495, 496.
.... Minister at Monymusk, i. 227.
.... Notary, iv. 356.
..... Johan de, de Drimyngarde, iv. 373.
..... Johannes, Clericus Sancti Andree, ii. 355.
..... John, ii. 158; iv. 54, 198, 591, 630.
.... Younger of Ardoch, iii. 70.
.... of Touchedene, Knight, iv. 304.
..... Lanslot de, Prebendary of Botarie, ii. 187.
..... Frater Patricius, iii. 251.
..... Patrick, of Cowbairdy, i. 381; iii. 592, 593.
.... Monk of Aberbrothock, ii. 128.
..... Robert, iv. 4.
..... Thomas, i. 389, 390.
.... of Culbyn, iii. 262.
..... Sir Walter, ii. 401.
..... Walter, ii. 169, 170, 277, 280, 281, 282, 283, 286, 287, 304.
..... William, ii. 158, 159, 277, 278, 279, 401; iii. 181, 182, 256, 526; iv. 4, 190, 592.

Murray, William, Knight, ii. 283.
.... of Polmaiss, iv. 202.
.... of Tulibardin, i. 427, 513; ii. 343, 401; iii. 324, 444, 514, 578; iv. 68, 69, 78, 80, 206.
.... Reader at Langley, i. 229.
Murthlack, John de, Master of St. Peter's Hospital, i. 154.
Muschamp, Robert of, ii. 398.
.... Baron of Wooler, iv. 699.
Muschet, David, Minister of Kirkmichael, ii. 307.
..... John, Notary, iv. 276.
Muy, Frater Rogerus de, ii. 247.
Mygele, Johannes, i. 190.
Myirden, Andrew, ii. 433.
Mykellis, Willelmus, i. 197.
Myretone, Patrick, see Aberdeen, Treasurer of.
..... Thomas, iv. 65.
.... Parson of Rhynie, ii. 179.
.... Vicar of Tarves, i. 335.
.... Parson of Tyrie, iii. 58, 82, 429, 452, 454, 465.

Nagyr, David, ii. 261.
Nairn of Morinsh, ii. 295.
..... Alexander, of Sandfurd, iii. 121.
..... David, of Sandfurd, iii. 515.
..... Duncan, Sheriff of Aberdeen, iv. 747.
..... George, of Sandfurd, iv. 70, 590.
..... John, ii. 308; iv. 389, 441.
Nairn, John, of Cromdale, iii. 423; iv. 440, 441.
..... Michael de, ii. 36; iv. 383, 452, 643.
Nanus, Herbert, ii. 398.
..... Johannes, Persona, ii. 398.
..... Radulphus, ii. 397, 398.
..... Richard, ii. 397, 398.
..... Walter, ii. 398.
Napier, Alexander, of Merchistoun, iii. 324.
..... Sir Archibald, of Merchistoun, Knight, iv. 253, 273.
Nathalan, St., i. 131, 132, 558, 560, 633, 639; ii. 81.
Navii, Thomas de, iii. 587.
Nectan, St., i. 143, 144, 155, 238; iv. 548.
Neile, David, i. 464.
Neilson, Nigellus, Famulus Andree Magistri de Errol, iii. 22.
..... Robert, Notary, iv. 636.
..... Thomas, iv. 474, 475.
Nell, William, iv. 127.
Nes, the son of William, iv. 692.
Nesche, Thomas, Monachus de Aberbrothock, ii. 128.
Nesius, Filius Willelmi, ii. 15.
Neuham, Robertus de, ii. 19.
Newbottle, Abbot of, Thomas, iii. 324.
..... Commendator of, Mark, iv. 768.
Newbygyng, Willelmus de, Miles, i. 274.
Neyl, Johannes, ii. 211, 212.
Nicholaus, Cancellarius, ii. 16.
..... Capellanus Muriel de Rothes, ii. 286.

Nicholaus, Capellanus Willelmi Cumyn, Comitis de Buchan, ii. 428.
..... Vicarius de Rothyn, ii. 284.
Nicholes, Thomas, iv. 108.
Nicholson, Andrew, i. 394.
..... Colin, Minister of Kirk-Michael, ii. 307.
..... David, Notary, iii. 195, 358, 497, 564, 565; iv. 469.
..... Sir George, of Kemnay, i. 584; ii. 268.
..... George, Exhorter at Grantullie, ii. 151.
.... Minister at Gartly, ii. 152.
..... James, Notary, iii. 196, 256; iv. 109.
..... John, Burgess of Aberdeen, iii. 216.
.... Notary, i. 577; iii. 195, 220, 222, 564, 565; iv. 576.
..... Patrick, Notary, iii. 548.
..... Dr. Robert, Roman Catholic Bishop, ii. 267, 268.
..... Thomas, iv. 247, 248, 249, 273, 347.
.... Burgess of Aberdeen, ii. 268; iii. 216.
.... Commissarius de Aberdeen, iv. 544.
.... Merchant in Aberdeen, i. 584.
Nicolai, Ingeramus, iv. 324.
Nicoll, Dr. Alexander, Canon of Christ Church, Oxford, i. 586.
Niger, Robertus, ii. 195.
Ninian, St., i. 206; iii. 43, 45, 389.
Nisbet, George, iv. 637.
Nisbet, George, Reader at Crechmond, i. 228.
..... Johannes, Rector de Kyndrome, iv. 178, 382.
Noblet, Willelmus, Canonicus Aberdonensis, i. 566.
Norham, Henricus de, ii. 72.
..... Thomas de, ii. 24.
Noric, David, ii. 262.
..... John, i. 118.
..... Robert, ii. 262.
..... Thomas, ii. 38; iii. 263; iv. 378, 541.
.... Lieutenant of the Sheriff of Aberdeen, i. 380; iii. 93.
..... Sir William, iii. 139.
..... William, ii. 369; iv. 326, 541.
.... Portioner of Inchdrevir, iii. 581.
Norinus, Filius Norman, i. 409.
Norman, Constable of Inverurie, i. 127, 154, 247.
Normannus, Constabularius, ii. 56; iii. 402; iv. 694.
..... Filius Malcolmi, i. 547.
Normanvile Johannes de, iv. 610.
..... Leo de, ii. 24.
..... Walran of, ii. 410.
Normanvilla, Walranus de, Miles, i. 340; ii. 109.
Norton, Rebecca, wife of Alexander, Lord Pitsligo, i. 439.
Norvel, Mariota, de Gargunnok, iii. 579, 580.
..... Willelmus, iii. 318, 320; iv. 34.
Nova Ferina, see Ferme.
Nudry, Laurencius, iv. 460.

Nusy, Simon de, Clericus Willelmi Episcopi Sancti Andree, i. 257.

O., Capellanus Domini Regis, ii. 192.
Oboyne, see Aboyne.
Ochiltree, John, iii. 201; iv. 173, 643.
.... Notary, iv. 162.
Odo Dapifer, Frater Mathei Episcopi Aberdonensis, ii. 17, 20.
Odo Senescallus, iii. 5.
Ogilvie, Lord, James, ii. 212; iv. 443.
.... John, ii. 404, 405.
.... Walter, iv. 34.
..... of Auchiries, i. 451.
..... of Boyne, i. 530, 647.
..... of Carnousie, i. 71.
..... of Forglen, i. 71, 509.
..... of Raggel, i. 647.
..... Alexander, ii. 404; iii. 42, 539, 577, 584; iv. 180, 232, 744.
.... of That Ilk, i. 210; ii. 260; iii. 307, 584.
.... of Boyne, i. 551.
.... of Deskford, iii. 105, 583.
.... of Findlater, iii. 69.
.... of Inverquhardy, iii. 268.
.... of Ouchterhouse, ii. 315, 380; iii. 135, 232, 234; iv. 517, 521, 525.
.... Minister at Tarves, &c., i. 227
.... Prebendary of Ruthven and Dippil, ii. 188.
.... Sheriff-Depute of Aberdeen, ii. 335.
.... Sheriff of Angus, iii. 166, 370, 579; iv. 34, 142.
Ogilvie, Alexander, Sheriff-depute of Banff, ii. 370.
.... Vicarius de Tarves, i. 335.
..... Andrew, ii. 250; iv. 437, 438.
.... of Calzebroche, iii. 514.
.... of Inchmartin, Knight, i. 575; iv. 195.
.... Minister at Keig, &c., i. 227.
..... Archibald, ii. 430; iv. 428.
..... Christian, wife of Sir Alexander Forbes of Pitsligo, i. 436.
.... wife of John Forbes of Pitsligo, iv. 665, 684.
..... David, i. 573; iv. 180.
.... of That Ilk, iv. 67, 437.
.... of Inchmartin, ii. 344.
.... of Tolmad, ii. 144; iii. 68, 243, 423, 459, 514; iv. 343, 438, 439, 441.
..... Sir George, i. 510.
..... George, ii. 149, 261, 357; iii. 539; iv. 180.
.... of Auquhannanye, ii. 173, 188, 251.
.... of Boyn, iii. 465, 530.
.... of Carnousie, ii. 370.
..... Sir George, of Dunlugus, i. 333; ii. 370; iii. 542.
..... George, of Dunlugus, ii. 111, 370, 408; iii. 288.
.... of Miltoun, ii. 250.
..... James, see Dryburgh, Abbot of.
.... ii. 141; iv. 99.
.... Knight, iv. 405.
.... of Airly, i. 516; iii. 213.

Ogilvie, James, of Airly, Knight, iii. 514; iv. 438.
.... of Auchiries, i. 452.
.... of Cullard, ii. 250.
..... Sir James, of Deskford, i. 647; ii. 102, 103, 111, 125, 126, 127, 128, 141, 210, 212, 214, 215, 331, 404; iii. 101, 103, 105; iv. 590.
..... James, of Deskford, ii. 141.
.... of Findlater, ii. 99, 100.
.... Knight, iv. 616.
.... of Paddoklaw, ii. 370.
..... Johannes, Deputatus Justiciarius Domini Regis, ii. 213, 215.
..... John, i. 515; ii. 131, 141; iv. 656.
.... of That Ilk, ii. 372; iii. 166, 167.
.... of Achannachie, iv. 471, 782.
.... of Ballindoche, i. 516; iii. 514; iv. 438.
.... of Fyngask, i. 335, 516, 517; iv. 439, 474.
.... of Fyngask, Knight, ii. 429, 430.
.... of Luntrethin, Knight, iii. 404; iv. 193, 200, 212, 261.
.... of Myltoune, ii. 357; iii. 530.
.... of Pette, iii. 539.
.... alias Gordon, of Deskford, ii. 100.
.... D.D., Minister of Midmar, ii. 41.
.... Parson of Cruden, iii. 119, 120, 121, 156, 352, 443.
Ogilvie, John, Parson of Dingwale, iii. 71.
..... Malcolm, ii. 430.
..... Margaret, widow of James, Earl of Buchan, iii. 167.
.... wife of James Stewart, Earl of Buchan, i. 92.
..... Michael, of Cults, iv. 685.
..... Oliferus, i. 516.
..... Patrick, brother of Earl of Findlater, i. 429.
.... i. 575; ii. 372, 380; iv. 180.
.... of Calzebroche, iii. 514; iv. 437.
.... of Grandoun, ii. 380; iv. 117, 118.
.... of Kessock, iii. 34.
.... of Killyhebroy, iv. 438, 439.
.... of Ouchterhouse, Knight, iv. 66, 435, 436.
.... Sheriff of Angus, iii. 166, 167, 369, 370, 379; iv. 115, 116.
.... Sheriff of Forgue, i. 522, 523; ii. 209.
..... Thomas, ii. 250.
.... Knight, i. 516; iv. 439.
..... Walter, ii. 131, 329; iii. 597; iv. 66, 95, 142, 435, 436, 616.
.... Knight, i. 122, 647; ii. 319; iv. 115, 117, 178, 193.
.... Knight, Treasurer of Scotland, iii. 167, 365, 370.
.... of Auchlevin, ii. 331; iii. 102; iv. 590.
.... of Balliciane, Knight, iv. 159.

Ogilvie, Walter, of Bewfort, iv. 341, 396.
.... of Boyne, Knight, i. 563, 645, 647; ii. 95, 173, 188, 251, 357; iii. 371, 465, 472, 515, 530, 538, 580; iv. 95, 744.
.... ii. 117, 132, 133, 141, 211, 212, 214, 404, 429; iii. 307; iv. 92, 93, 94, 439.
.... of Carbarie, iv. 267, 268.
.... of Deskford, Knight, iii. 397; iv. 206, 212, 261, 396.
..... Sir Walter, of Dunlugus, i. 645; ii. 111.
..... Walter, of Dunlugus, i. 510, 645.
.... Apparent of Dunlugus, iv. 647.
.... of Findlater, Knight, iii. 542.
.... of Luntrethin, Knight, iv. 184, 185, 391, 393.
.... iv. 179, 180.
.... of Monycabock, i. 622; iii. 539.
.... of Reidhyith, ii. 370.
.... Sheriff of Angus, ii. 43; iii. 8.
.... Treasurer, ii. 372, 382.
..... Walterus, Magister Domus Jacobi I., i. 555.
.... of Deskford, Knight, iv. 341.
..... William, i. 474, 510; ii. 94, 104, 107, 110, 115, 135, 250, 310; iii. 472.
.... of Gowny, iii. 538.
..... Sir William, of Pette, iii. 539.
Ogilvie, William, of Strathern, Knight, iv. 95.
Ogston, Alexander, iv. 391.
.... of That Ilk, i. 356.
.... Reader at Tyrie, i. 228.
..... Andrew, i. 461, 463.
..... David, ii. 353.
..... George, iv. 687.
..... James, ii. 432.
.... Advocate in Aberdeen, iv. 498.
..... John, i. 330; ii. 211, 212; iii. 334; iv. 188.
.... of That Ilk, i. 344, 345; ii. 402; iv. 391.
.... of the Crag, iv. 590, 591, 616.
... . Sheriff-depute of Aberdeen, i. 380.
..... Magnus, Notary, iv. 684.
..... Robert, iv. 104.
..... Thomas, ii. 360.
..... Walter, of That Ilk, iii. 170.
..... William, ii. 369.
.... Notary, ii. 349, 350, 434.
Oige, Donaldus, i. 514.
Oistes, Alexander, Vicarius de Dyce, iii. 223.
Olave, St., i. 375, 376; iii. 119.
Oldeny, see Udny.
Olifard, see Oliphant.
Oliphant, Lord, Andrew, iii. 398.
..... Andrew, Vicar of Foulis, iii. 251.
..... James, of Arquhalye, iii. 123, 138.
.... of Murehous, iv. 253, 273.

Oliphant, James, Advocate, iv. 250.
..... John, ii. 250; iv. 45.
.... Knight, iii. 101.
..... Laurencius, iii. 51, 123, 138, 164, 213, 357, 515.
..... W., iii. 402; iv. 694.
..... Walter, i. 247.
..... Walterus, Justiciarius Laodoniæ, ii. 138.
..... William, i. 299, 516; iii. 338.
..... Sir William, of Newtoun, iv. 253, 273.
Oliphantus, Ricardus, Frater Carmelitanus Aberdonensis, i. 203.
Oliverus, Capellanus Willelmi Regis, i. 510; iii. 177.
Omerus, Clericus Johannis, Episcopi Aberdonensis, ii. 121.
Orchardtoun, Andrew, iii. 86.
..... James, iii. 87.
..... John, iii. 86, 87, 88.
..... Robert, iii. 87.
Orde, Andreas, Portionarius de eodem, iii. 584.
..... Nicholaus, Portionarius de eodem, iii. 581.
Orem, David, Monachus de Lindores, iii. 394, 410.
..... Thomas, i. 656.
Orkney, Bishop of, Andrew, iii. 515, 528.
.... Edward, i. 210.
.... Robert Reid, iv. 483, 624.
.... William Tulloch, iii. 417, 522; iv. 63, 106, 593.
..... Earl of, Henry, iv. 393.
.... of St. Clair, i. 373; ii. 162; iii. 95, 96.
Orkney, Earl of, William, iv. 200, 204, 205.
.... of St. Clair, iii. 8, 97, 98.
Ormonde, Earl of, Hugh, iv. 77, 119.
.... Douglas, i. 428.
Orock, Thomas, Knight, i. 338.
Orreby, Simon de, ii. 280.
Ostiarius, see Hostiarius.
Ottirburne, Alanus de, iv. 387.
..... Alexander de, iii. 588.
..... Gilbert, Parson of Slains, i. 303.
..... Nicholaus, Clericus Rotulorum, iii. 8, 403.
Ouchterlonie, Captain David, ii. 77.
..... Willelmus de, ii. 43.
.... de Kelly, i. 282, 347.
Ouchtirarne, Donaldus de, iii. 582.
..... Johannes, ii. 11, 12.
Oudny, see Udny.
Ovide, Adam, Clericus Willelmi Episcopi Sancti Andree, i. 176, 257.
..... Magister de, iv. 117.
Owirisone, John, i. 382.
Ox, Andreas, Rector de Inverarity, ii. 197, 198, 199, 200.

Pacok, Matheus, Notarius, iii. 77, 233, 356.
Page, Duncanus, iv. 609.
Paige, Johannes, ii. 159.
Paigh, Andreas, iii. 394.
Paip, Alexander, Notary, iii. 41.
.... iv. 498.
..... Robert, Advocate, iv. 368.
.... Notary, iii. 156.
..... Robertus, Ballivus de Aberdeen, i. 190.

Paisley, Abbot of, George, iii. 213.
.... John, iii. 252.
.... Robert, iii. 185.
.... Thomas, iv. 193.
Paninton, R. de, Miles, i. 338.
Paniter, Sir Andrew, Vicar of Fyvie, i. 496; iii. 549.
..... Patricius, Rector de Tannades, ii. 347; iii. 55, 79, 104.
..... Walter, see Aberbrothock, Abbot of.
Panmure, Earl of, George, iii. 6.
Pantere, Patricius, iv. 134.
Pantok, Radulphus, i. 561.
Panton of Pitmedden, i. 607.
..... Alexander, of Pitmedden, iii. 84.
..... Arthur, iii. 11.
..... Henry, of Hilton, i. 235; iii. 176, 209.
..... James, iii. 102.
.... of Blackhouse, iii. 419.
.... Portioner of Tillymaid, i. 115.
..... John, ii. 432; iii. 203.
.... of That Ilk, iv. 572.
.... of Pitmedden, i. 115, 118, 315; ii. 12, 406; iii. 65, 85, 257; iv. 63, 83, 94.
..... Oliver, i. 524; iii. 263.
.... of Cowhill, iv. 367.
..... Walter, i. 383.
..... William, i. 382; iv. 39, 560.
.... of Blackhouse, iii. 419.
.... of Haudauch, iii. 446.
.... of Pitmedden, i. 394; iii. 203.
Papay, Simon de, Miles, i. 373.
Park, John, ii. 140.
Park, Magnus, iv. 630.
Parker, Matheus, i. 196.
Parkle, Georgius, de eodem, iii. 397.
..... Jacobus de, Clericus et Notarius, iv. 397, 398.
..... James of, iv. 193, 195, 200.
Parson, Johannes, ii. 237, 366.
Parvus, Robertus, Canonicus Moraviensis, ii. 170, 280.
Paterson of Granton, i. 110.
..... George, Minister at Kintore and Kynneller, i. 228.
..... James, iv. 537.
.... Reader at Cushnie, i. 230.
..... Sir John, i. 331.
..... Dr. John, see Glasgow, Archbishop of.
..... John, see Ross, Bishop of.
.... iv. 367, 537.
.... Reader at Alford, i. 229.
..... Mr., Minister at Logie Durno, i. 306.
..... Nicholaus, iv. 344.
..... Robert, iv. 488.
..... Thom, i. 394.
..... Thomas, i. 113; iv. 536.
..... Sir William, i. 306, 331.
..... William, Sub-dean of Murray, ii. 188.
.... Notary, iii. 256.
Paton of Grandholm, i. 110.
..... Alexander, of Kinaldie, iii. 241.
..... Andrew, ii. 237.
..... John, of Pitmedden, iv. 232.
Patonson, Adam, i. 335.

Patonson, Alexander, Monachus de Lindores, iii. 391, 394, 410.
..... Robertus, Capellanus, iii. 372.
Patricius, Comes, i. 336; ii. 138, 233.
..... Superior Monasterii Sanctae Trinitatis Aberdonensis, i. 204.
Patrick, St., i. 275; iii. 291.
..... John, Franciscan Friar at Aberdeen, i. 201.
Patric, John, of Whitewall, iii. 390.
Pebles, John of, see St. Andrews, Archdeacon of.
.... iii. 289.
Peddie, Johannes, iv. 742.
Peirsone, Frater Johannes, iii. 251.
Pendreich, Andrew, ii. 432.
..... Jacobus, iv. 462.
..... Frater Willelmus, ii. 431.
..... William, ii. 432.
Penney, Frater Johannes, Prior Fratrum Predicatorum de Aberdeen, i. 333.
Percy, Sir Ralph of, Knight, i. 499; iv. 162.
Pere, Thomas, i. 382.
Perth, Earl of, John, iv. 304.
..... Robertus, iii. 4.
..... Saulfus de, iii. 5.
Perthoch, Walterus de, iv. 3.
Peterkin, William, Chaplain in Murray, ii. 188.
.... Minister at Ardintullie, ii. 152.
Pethmus, Frater Alketinus de, ii. 247.
Petillo, Georgius, Vicarius de Rossy, iii. 154.
Petit, Duncan, see Aberdeen, Chancellor of.
Petrus, Capellanus, ii. 121.
.... Willelmi Episcopi Sancti Andree, i. 176, 257.
..... F., iii. 228.
Pettillok, Patricius de, Capellanus, i. 576.
Petmorquhy, Alexander, ii. 38, 39.
Petyn, W. de, ii. 56, 57.
..... Walterus de, Miles, ii. 158.
Phendarg, Philippus de, i. 337.
Pherharchd, Judex, i. 338; iii. 5.
Philipp, Donaldus, ii. 261.
..... Henricus, iii. 394.
..... Frater Johannes, ii. 238.
..... Johannes, Vicarius de Logiedurno, ii. 394, 410.
..... John, Minister at Alford, &c., i. 226.
.... Minister at Dunbennan, ii. 151.
.... Parson of Turriff, ii. 349.
..... Master, i. 145; iii. 4.
..... Willelmus, Clericus Deputatus de Daviot, iii. 456.
Philippson, William, i. 573.
Philippus, Clericus, i. 624.
..... Clericus Comitis David, i. 625.
..... Clericus Radulphi, Episcopi Aberdonensis, ii. 124.
..... Persona de Glenbervie, ii. 139.
Phyne of Cross, ii. 321.
Pilmor, Adam, of Glak, iii. 463.
..... William, iii. 428.
Piper, George, ii. 434.
..... William, ii. 124, 125, 261.
Pitcairn, Dr., i. 73.

Pitcairn, Johannes, iii. 318, 319.
Pitmeddan, John, of That Ilk, i. 347.
Pitsligo, Lord, Alexander, i. 333, 435, 438, 439; iv. 71, 105, 121, 405, 665, 666.
..... Master of, John, i. 439.
Pittendrigh, Sir Andrew, iv. 552.
..... Andrew, iv. 45.
..... James, see Deer, Abbot of.
.... iv. 552.
..... John, of That Ilk, ii. 370; iv. 550, 551.
..... Michael, Pensionarius de Deer, iv. 552, 553.
..... Robert, of That Ilk, iii. 542; iv. 550.
..... William, iv. 649.
.... of That Ilk, iv. 590, 592.
Plenamour, Johannes, de Anestoun, i. 345.
Pluscardine, Prior of, Simon, ii. 159.
.... William, ii. 163.
Polloc, Muriel de, ii. 283, 287.
..... Petrus de, ii. 129, 234.
..... Robertus de, ii. 287.
Pollok, Frater Willelmus, iii. 184.
Pont, Jacobus, ii. 236, 237, 366.
..... Timothy, i, 11.
Pontkyne, John, Knight, ii. 372.
Pook, Nigellus, Burgensis de Aberdeen, iii. 205, 206.
Pop, Robertus, ii. 207.
Porter, Alexander, Notary, iii. 70.
..... John, ii. 250.
.... Reader at Innerawin, ii. 151.
Porterfield, Johannes, de Chapeltoun, iii. 374, 375; iv. 737.
Porteristone, Johannes de, iii. 444.
Pottock, Richard, see Aberdeen, Bishop of.
Prat, Cristy, ii. 248.
..... David, Ballivus de Aberdeen, iii. 46, 464.
..... Henry, Sheriff of Banff, ii. 109.
..... James, ii. 433.
..... John, i. 539.
.... Chaplain, iii. 586.
..... Robert, Presbyter, iii. 11.
..... Thomas, Burgess of Aberdeen, i. 261, 262, 457; iii. 11, 46, 79, 243, 464.
.... Vicarius de Banff, ii. 127.
..... V., Vicecomes de Aberdeen, Miles, i. 338.
..... Walterus, Vicecomes de Invernairn, ii. 143.
..... William, iv. 3, 52.
.... Sheriff of Invernairn, ii. 283.
Prater, Robertus, Vicecomes Deputatus de Kincardine, iii. 367.
Prebenda, R. de, Clericus Willelmi Regis, ii. 233.
..... Ricardus de, Clericus Willelmi Regis, ii. 54, 129.
Precheour, Thomas, Scutifer, iii. 266.
Prenderlath, Willelmus, de eodem, iv. 591.
Preston of Formartine, i. 34.
..... Henry, iii. 539.
.... Knight, i. 492, 499, 500; iii. 263.
..... Sir Henry, of Formartine, i. 34, 87, 330, 344, 494, 501, 502, 503; ii. 420; iv. 385.

Preston, John, Knight, iii. 293; iv. 156.
.... of Fentounbarnis, iii. 382.
.... of Valeyfield, Knight, iv. 304.
.... Commissary of Edinburgh, iii. 427.
..... Robert, i. 353; iv. 385.
..... Walter, i. 353; iv. 385.
..... William, Knight, iv. 727.
Primrose, Charles, Minister of Bellie, ii. 269.
..... David, Advocate, iv. 749.
..... James, Clerk of Council, iii. 423.
Pringill, Robertus, Notarius, iv. 362.
..... Willelmus, de Casu Gallovidiano, iii. 87.
Proctor, Henry, of Kyngussy, iv. 736.
..... John, ii. 289.
..... William, Presbyter, iii. 21, 129.
.... of Aberdeen, i. 309.
Procurator, Thomas, i. 196.
Prowdy, Nicholaus, Vicarius Sancti Maquhorii, iii. 356.
Punkyne, Johannes, Miles, i. 373.
Purwess, Frater Nicholaus, iii. 251.
Pyet, Thomas, Canon of Aberdeen, iii. 15.
Pyngle, Adam, i. 158, 422, 423; ii. 73, 74; iii. 429, 543; iv. 722.
..... Catherine, i. 422.
..... Isabella, i. 423.
Pyot, Johannes, iii. 77.
..... Lawrence, see Aberdeen, Archdeacon of.
Pyot, Lawrence, Burgess of Aberdeen, iii. 258.
..... Frater Patricius, Magister Domus Sancti Germani, iii. 584.
..... Frater Thomas, Magister Domus Sancti Germani, iii. 585.
..... Thomas, iii. 392.
.... Capellanus, iii. 585.

Queensberry, Marquis of, William, iii. 312.
Quhitelaw, see Whitelaw.
Quhithed, see Whitehead.
Quhyte, see White.
Quincy, Rogerus de, Constabularius Scotiae, i. 337; ii. 235.
..... Robertus de, i. 256; ii. 27, 233; iv. 692.

Raath, Andreas de, Miles, i. 340.
Radulphus, Canonicus Aberdonensis, i. 565.
..... Capellanus Andree Episcopi Moraviensis, ii. 170, 193, 280, 282, 283, 288.
..... Capellanus Edwardi Episcopi Aberdonensis, ii. 16.
..... Capellanus Willelmi Regis, i. 496.
..... Clericus Reginae Scotiae, iii. 177.
..... Medicus Willelmi Regis, ii. 119.
..... Rector de Elchis, ii. 194, 304.
..... Vicarius de Abirkyrdor, ii. 196.
Raij, Robertus de, i. 154.
Rait, Alexander, iv. 466.

Rait, Andrew, iv. 704, 706, 707, 708.
..... Archibald, iii. 582.
.... of Drumtochty, iii. 64, 539, 540; iv. 80, 632, 633.
..... Donald, ii. 261.
..... Henry, iii. 582.
..... James, iv. 252.
.... of Halgreen, iii. 87.
..... John, iii. 582.
.... see Aberdeen, Bishop of.
..... Robert, of Drumtochty, iii. 540.
.... Reader at Keig, i. 228.
..... Thomas, iv. 88, 114.
..... Walter, iv. 555.
.... Notary, iv. 31, 32.
..... William, iii. 7, 8.
.... Minister at Kincaldrum, iii. 400.
Raith, James, iv. 471.
..... Thomas, Vicarius de Leslie, iii. 390, 391.
Ramsay of Lethirs, i. 111.
..... Alexander, of Dalwolsy, Knight, iv. 119, 193, 724.
.... Reader at Aberdour, i. 228.
..... Andrew, iv. 36.
..... Archibald, of Culsh, ii. 370.
..... David, iii. 29; iv. 683.
..... Edward, of Westhall, iii. 441; iv. 201, 202.
..... Rev. Gilbert, ii. 78.
..... Gilbert, of Mawise, iv. 438.
..... James, iv. 281.
.... of Arbecky, iii. 87.
.... of Balmain, iii. 87.
.... of Balnele, i. 516.
Ramsay, John, iv. 127, 478.
.... of Nevoy, ii. 348.
.... Chaplain, iv. 324.
.... Minister at Aberdour, i. 227.
..... Lawrence, iv. 347.
..... Nessus de, ii. 302.
..... Pait, ii. 435.
..... Patricius Reedie, ii. 375, 376.
..... Peter, see Aberdeen, Bishop of.
..... Robert, ii. 120; iv. 671.
..... Thomas, Notary, iii. 446.
..... Walter, of Cauntirlande, i. 282.
.... Chaplain, iv. 678.
.... Notary, ii. 181.
..... William, ii. 301; iii. 334; iv. 670, 782.
.... Chaplain, iv. 678.
Ranald, Johannes, ii. 261.
Randolph, Sir Thomas, iv. 185.
Randolphus, Sacerdos, i. 552.
Ranken, Andrew, iv. 496.
..... George, iv. 37.
Rannie, Alexander, iv. 127.
Ranulphus, Filius Waldevi, ii. 72.
..... Canonicus Moraviensis, ii. 169.
..... Capellanus Willelmi Comitis de Mar, ii. 24.
Rany, James, iv. 498.
Ranysoun, Sir Alexander, iii. 125.
..... James, i. 303.
..... Thomas, i. 342, 347.
Raperlau, Willelmus, Curatus Sancti Petri de Inchmartin, i. 575.
Rattray, David, Parson of Philorth, i. 431.

Rattray, Johannes, iv. 352, 723.
.... Ballivus de Aberdeen, iii. 454, 464.
..... Patrick, of That Ilk, iii. 122.
..... Richard, ii. 621.
..... Robert, Burgess of Aberdeen, iii. 216.
..... Thomas, Knight, iv. 752.
Ray, Henry, iv. 109.
..... Johannes, Curatus de Glenbucket, iv. 450.
..... Robert, ii. 38.
Rayne, Adam of, iii. 428, 429.
..... Bartholf of, iii. 428.
..... Reginald of, iii. 428, 429.
Reacht, James, ii. 262.
Reche, Andreas, iv. 335.
..... Johannes, iv. 347, 537.
..... Willelmus, iv. 347.
Rechesone, Donald, iv. 625.
Redfurde, Duncanus, iii. 77.
Redheuch, James, of Tullicheddel, i. 321; iii. 54, 55, 56.
Regeley, John of, Burgess of Newburgh, iii. 97.
Reginaldus, Capellanus, ii. 121.
..... Filius Alani, i. 196.
.... Waldevi, i. 196.
..... Vicarius de Aberkirdour, ii. 158.
Regulus, see Rule.
Reid of Barra, i. 71, 110.
..... Adam, iv. 483.
..... Alexander, i. 518; ii. 429; iv. 90, 317, 471, 762, 782.
.... M.D., ii. 50, 51.
..... Sir Alexander, of Barra, i. 564.
Reid, Alexander, of Pitfoddels, i. 264.
.... Baillie of Aberdeen, i. 314.
.... Provost of Aberdeen, iii. 46, 214, 243, 274, 275, 276, 288, 303, 446, 464, 560.
.... Writer, iv. 310.
..... Andrew, i. 382.
.... of Badfothell, i. 283; iii. 269, 270, 272, 274.
..... Archibald, Reader at Peterhead, i. 230.
..... Cuthbertus, Rector de Dulmaok, iii. 381.
..... David, iii. 22; iv. 538.
.... Clericus Sancti Andrec, i. 347.
.... Notary, iii. 326.
..... Gilbert, of Colistoun, i. 115; iii. 22, 129; iv. 531.
..... James, i. 196; iii. 481; iv. 316, 317.
.... of Newmylnes, iv. 254, 273.
.... Minister at Banchory-Ternan and Strachan, i. 226.
.... Minister of Banchory-Ternan, ii. 50, 51.
..... John, i. 383; iv. 347.
.... see Aberdeen, Chancellor of.
.... of Ranystoun, iii. 100.
.... Burgess of Aberdeen, iii. 217.
.... Monk of Deer, ii. 361.
.... Vicar of Mernys, iii. 58.
.... Vicar of Monymusk, iii. 489, 491, 492, 493, 495, 499.

Reid, Lewis, Minister of Strachan, ii. 51.
..... Patrick, i. 382, 396; iii. 146; iv. 347.
.... of Colistoun, i. 304, 448; iii. 53, 64, 127, 149, 150, 421; iv. 46, 90.
.... of Haughton, iv. 145.
.... Burgess of Aberdeen, iii. 80, 464, 558.
..... Petrus, ii. 51.
..... Robert, iii. 275; iv. 317.
.... see Kinloss, Abbot of.
.... Minister of Banchory-Ternan, ii. 50, 51.
..... Dr. Thomas, i. 55; ii. 51.
..... Thomas, ii. 51; iv. 104.
.... of Colistoun, ii. 365; iv. 232.
.... Secretary of King James VI., i. 60, 61; ii. 50.
..... William, i. 485; iii. 334; iv. 188.
.... of Badfothell, iii. 261, 262, 270.
.... of Colistoun, i. 282. 307, 360, 393, 394, 395, 513; ii. 375; iii. 7, 143.
.... of Haughton, iv. 145.
.... of Ranyston, i. 344.
.... Notary, iv. 498.
Reith, James, iv. 782.
Remorgeny, Johannes de, Miles, i. 500. 502.
Reoch, Donald, Reader at Tarves, i. 229.
..... John, iv. 474, 475.
Reomonth, Jacobus de, ii. 351.
Ret, Thomas de, ii. 351.
Retref, Adam de, Miles, iv. 699.
Rettrif, Thomas de, Miles, ii. 24.
Reuach, Murchedus, ii. 222.
Reuel, Henricus, ii. 27, 191, 192.
..... Ricardus, ii. 42.
Ricard, Johannes, ii. 237, 365.
Ricardus, Capellanus, ii. 121.
.... Adam Episcopi Aberdonensis, i. 565; ii. 18, 21.
.... Comitis David, i. 625.
..... Clericus Ricardi Episcopi Moraviensis, ii. 302.
..... Filius Hugonis, i. 566; ii. 42, 56.
..... Persona de Rathen, i. 565; ii. 18, 21, 392.
..... Vicarius de Inverury, i. 562.
..... Vicecomes de Forays, ii. 143, 144.
Richardson, Alexander, Monk of Lindores, iii. 394.
..... James, iv. 409, 410.
..... John, i. 382.
..... Robert, of Pencaitland, Bart., iv. 363.
.... Vicar of Eckfurd, iii. 256.
Richie, John, ii. 436.
Rickart of Arnage, i. 308.
..... David, of Arnage, iii. 23, 24.
..... George, elder of Arnage, iii. 23, 24.
.... younger of Arnage, iii. 23, 24.
Riddal, Frater Adamus, ii. 237, 238.
..... John, ii. 433.
..... William, ii. 15, 20; iv. 691.
Rig, Hugh, iv. 577.
Rind, Johannes, iv. 506.

Ripelley, Bernardus de, iii. 338.
Rires, William, iv. 81.
Rivis, David, of Strathstedlie, i. 424.
Robert I., King of Scots, i. 15, 18, 20, 23, 41, 43, 79, 88, 163, 190, 210, 231, 232, 240, 249, 250, 272, 276, 277, 279, 280, 286, 289, 301, 312, 316, 317, 323, 341, 361, 366, 371, 373, 376, 379, 389, 390, 404, 434, 462, 471, 476, 480, 505, 523, 564, 577, 579, 627; ii. 35, 49, 66, 73, 106, 115, 117, 128, 130, 135, 145, 159, 217, 227, 233, 263, 269, 270, 304, 305, 312, 323, 332, 339, 340, 360, 363, 386, 392, 394, 407, 416, 417, 446; iii. 3, 104, 113, 173, 210, 211, 214, 224, 231, 292, 313, 316, 317, 369, 429, 546; iv. 151, 185, 198, 205, 235, 306, 609, 699, 709, 710, 711, 712, 729, 760.
..... II., ... i. 146, 147, 232, 233, 241, 251, 277, 288, 316, 317, 324, 389, 404, 426, 483, 491, 539, 540, 550, 593, 615; ii. 30, 43, 66, 67, 74, 84, 97, 106, 128, 159, 197, 219, 270, 304, 305, 319, 363, 364, 384, 386, 387, 407, 446; iii. 181, 295, 296, 355, 362, 521; iv. 84, 113, 160, 185, 186, 187, 306, 318, 376, 599, 642, 722, 729.
..... III., ... i. 231, 233, 235, 273, 277, 288, 289, 316, 324, 330, 355, 373, 390, 426, 484, 499, 502, 524, 594; ii. 30, 31, 44, 67, 85, 98, 112, 134, 136, 140, 220, 227, 263, 264, 305, 314, 351, 363, 372, 386, 400, 419; iii. 133, 134, 141, 165, 181, 296, 297, 362, 365, 553; iv. 34, 84, 86, 114, 162, 164, 165, 166, 169, 171, 246, 247, 248, 256, 262, 264, 267, 268, 269, 273, 274, 283, 287, 289, 299, 318, 373, 376, 378, 458, 494, 551, 614, 642.
Robert, John, i. 573.
..... William, i. 303.
Roberti, Andreas, iv. 335.
.... Presbyter Moraviensis, iv. 482.
..... David, Capellanus, iv. 657.
Roberts, Edmundus, iv. 107, 109.
Robertson of Wester Fowlis, i. 598.
..... Alexander, ii. 263; iv. 688.
.... of Auchtermuchtie, iii. 88.
.... Pitsligo's Chaplain, i. 97.
.... Reader at Maryculter, i. 226.
.... Peterculter, i. 230.
.... Servitor Episcopi Moraviae, ii. 173, 188.
.... Tenant of Mekle Crage, i. 302.
..... Andrew, ii. 434; iv. 347, 474, 475, 488.
..... Frater David, iii. 169.
..... Duncan, of Cornobo, iv. 147.
.... Chaplain, iii. 392.
..... Edward, iii. 168.
..... George, of Auchtermuchtie, iii. 87.
..... Henry, iv. 491.
..... James, iv. 66.
.... of Auchtermuchtie, iii. 87, 88.
..... John, i. 349, 350; iii. 329, 381; iv. 104, 488, 499.

Robertson, John, of Clunie, i. 599.
.... of Ernok, iii. 195; iv. 562.
.... of Netherleisk, iii. 150, 153.
.... of Wester Fowlis, i. 599.
.... Burgess of Aberdeen, iii. 555.
.... Burgess of Edinburgh, iii. 127.
.... Notary, i. 386; iii. 127, 129, 157; iv. 31, 32, 556.
.... Tenant of Mekle Crage, i. 302.
..... Minister of Cluny, ii. 49.
..... Nichol, Notary, ii. 348.
..... Patrick, of Auchtermuchtie, iii. 87.
..... Robert, of Strowan, i. 280.
..... Thomas, ii. 434; iv. 589.
.... Tenant of Mekle Crage, i. 302.
..... Walter, iv. 687.
.... Notary, iii. 556.
..... William, i. 349, 350, 536, 546, 550, 555, 559, 564, 571, 574; ii. 3, 32, 34; iv. 488, 589, 684.
.... Reader at Midmar, i. 229.
Robertsonus, Georgius, Aberdonensis, i. 63.
Robertus, Canonicus, ii. 17, 20.
.... Moraviensis, ii. 169, 288, 304.
..... Capellanus, i. 256; ii. 120.
.... Alexandri II., i. 561.
.... Mathei Episcopi Aberdonensis, i. 292, 564.
.... Willelmi Regis, i. 496.
Robertus, Capellanus de Duffus, iv. 608.
..... Clericus, ii. 279.
.... Ade Episcopi Aberdonensis, ii. 121.
.... Domini Justiciarii Scotiæ, ii. 286.
..... Decanus de Inverness, ii. 155, 282, 304.
..... Frater Finlay, ii. 211, 212.
..... Rector de Forglen, ii. 388.
..... Subprior de Kinloss, ii. 247.
Robison, Edwardus, Monachus Sanctæ Trinitatis Aberdonensis, i. 204.
..... Franciscus, iv. 108.
..... James, Reader at Fordyce, i. 228.
Roger, Andrew, iv. 491.
..... Willelmus, ii. 261.
.... Magister Domus Specierum, iii. 273.
Rogerson, Donaldus, Nativus, i. 477.
..... Thomas, iv. 734.
Rogerus, Capellanus Mathei Episcopi Aberdonensis, ii. 17, 20.
..... Clericus Radulphi Episcopi Aberdonensis, i. 568.
..... dictus Paternoster, i. 470.
..... Filius Hugonis, i. 196.
.... Willelmi, i. 567.
Rokesburg, Willelmus de, ii. 139.
Rolland, David, Burgess of Aberdeen, iii. 216.
..... James, Prior of Balquhidder, iii. 394.
..... John, iii. 394, 410.
.... Burgess of Aberdeen, iii. 216.
..... William, iv. 100, 232.

Rolland, William, Baillie of Aberdeen, iii. 248, 250.
.... Burgess of Aberdeen, ii. 365; iii. 558.
.... junior, Burgess of Aberdeen, iv. 575.
.... Master of the Mint at Aberdeen, i. 359.
.... Sheriff of Aberdeen, iii. 497.
.... Vicar of Inch, iii. 259.
Rollock, George, of Duncrub, iv. 678.
..... Humphrey, iv. 232, 678.
.... of Findruy, iv. 740.
..... Walter, Burgess of Dundee, iii. 124.
Ronald, George, iv. 317.
Ronaldi, Johannes, iii. 513.
..... Thomas, iii. 483, 484.
Rose of Arnage, i. 110.
..... of Auchlossin, ii. 40.
..... Donald, of Wester Cluny, ii. 77.
..... George, ii. 77.
..... John, ii. 39.
.... of Wardes, i. 552.
..... Thomas, of Auchlossin, ii. 40.
Ross, Archdeacon of, Alexander Man, iv. 84.
.... John of Inchmartin, iv. 178, 181, 382.
.... Thomas Urquhart, iii. 532.
..... Bishop of, Alexander, ii. 390; iii. 531, 532, 577; iv. 168, 170, 267, 568, 274, 732.
.... Henry, iii. 224, 522.
.... John Fraser, iii. 104.
Ross, Bishop of, John Leslie, i. 89, 210, 214, 320, 579; ii. 181.
.... Maxwell, (Archbishop of Tuam), ii. 258.
.... Paterson, i. 306, 331, 370.
.... R., ii. 232.
.... Robert, ii. 283.
..... Dean of, Henry, ii. 143, 144, 155, 193.
.... John, iii. 577.
.... Innes, iv. 732.
.... William of Dingwale, ii. 390; iv. 84.
..... Countess of, Elizabeth, i. 487; ii. 402; iv. 518.
.... Livingston, iii. 522, 523.
..... Domina de, Eufamia, i. 484; ii. 106, 364, 386, 387, 388, 389; iii. 521.
..... Duke of, ii. 402; iii. 247.
..... Earl of, Alexander, ii. 395.
.... of the Isles, ii. 220, 402; iii. 521.
.... Henry, iv. 747.
.... Hugh, ii. 106, 385; iv. 760.
.... Ross, iii. 525, 531, 532.
.... John of the Isles, ii. 360; iii. 521, 522, 523, 526, 527, 528; iv. 61, 62.
.... William, i. 342, 539; ii. 159, 363, 384, 386, 387, 389; iii. 526, 531, 532, 543.
..... of Auchlossin, i. 635.
..... Alexander, i. 80.
.... of Birsebeg, ii. 76.
.... of Inch, iii. 405.

Ross, Alexander, of Luesk, iii. 440.
.... Minister at Monymusk, iii. 406.
.... Reader at Innernauchtie, i. 230.
..... David, iv. 143.
..... George, Merchant in Aberdeen, iii. 512.
..... Gilbert, iii. 298.
.... Notary, iii. 37, 400, 575; iv. 57, 58, 59.
..... Godefridus de, Miles, iv. 713.
..... Hugh, ii. 222, 363, 384, 387, 388.
.... of Kilravock, iv. 70.
.... of Kynfaunys, i. 490, 491.
.... of Philorth, i. 435, 483; ii. 383; iii. 525, 531, 532, 542; iv. 122.
..... Hutschone, Baron of Kilrawake, iv. 402.
..... James, ii. 261; iv. 352, 579.
.... Notary, iii. 575.
.... Reader at Tarland and Migvie, i. 230.
..... John, i. 232, 283, 396; ii. 384, 386; iii. 582; iv. 190, 438, 579.
.... of Auchlossin, i. 315; iii. 52, 64, 89, 94, 103, 126, 170, 193, 260, 276, 335, 384, 418, 448, 449, 519, 533, 561, 563, 591; iv. 78, 111, 121, 188, 442.
.... of Drumrossie, iii. 440.
.... of Haukheid, Knight, ii. 351; iv. 87.
.... of Little Colp, iii. 512.
Ross, John, elder of Rosehill, iii. 24, 25.
.... younger of Rosehill, iii. 24.
.... Minister at Foveran, iii. 405, 406.
.... Reader at Birse, iii. 406.
.... at Glentanner, i. 229.
..... Nicholas, iv. 352.
.... of Auchlossin, iv. 469, 482.
..... Robert, i. 299; ii. 261; iii. 338.
.... of Auchlossin, i. 635.
..... Thomas, i. 283; ii. 261.
.... of Auchlossin, i. 278.
..... William, i. 455; ii. 76; iv. 438.
Rossotiweth, Duncan of, iii. 429.
Rossy, Andrew, i. 335.
..... David, i. 516.
..... Thomas de, Miles, i. 455.
..... Walter, ii. 141.
Rothene, Eugenius de, i. 625; iii. 428.
..... Patricius de, i. 625, 626.
Rothes and Haddington, Countess of, Lady Margaret, iv. 337.
..... Domina Muriel de, ii. 285, 286.
..... Duke of, John, iii. 553; iv. 329, 337.
..... Earl of, Andrew, iv. 328, 505.
.... George, i. 594; iii. 137, 138, 553, 554; iv. 319, 322, 323, 324, 325, 332, 335.
.... Leslie, iv. 319, 320, 321.

Rothes, Earl of, John, iii. 5, 539, 553.
..... Master of, James, iii. 553.
Rotheuan, Killeserf de, ii. 19.
..... W. de, Miles, ii. 24.
Rothfan, Willelmus, Prior Domus Leprosorum, ii. 144.
Rothnye, George, Reader at Drumblaitt, i. 230.
Rothie, William, Reader in Ardintullie, ii. 376.
Rothnach, David de, iv. 699.
..... Willelmus de, Miles, iv. 752.
Rothnek, Patrick of, iv. 486.
Rothsay, Duke of, David, i. 290; iii. 363.
Roul, Bernard, of Foleroule, iii. 542.
..... Thomas, iv. 382.
Row, Johannes, Clericus Dunblanensis, iv. 485, 486, 487.
..... John, Principal of King's College, i. 252.
Rowle, Thomas de, i. 555.
Roy, David, ii. 261.
..... Donald, ii. 261.
..... John, ii. 261.
.... Grant ii. 291.
..... Thomas, ii. 261.
Ruadri, High Steward of Mar, iv. 548.
Ruddiman, James, ii. 118.
..... Thomas, ii. 118, 119.
Rufus, Radulphus, i. 496.
Rule, Dr., Principal of College at Edinburgh, ii. 68, 69, 70.
..... St. i. 622, 623; iii. 330.
Runce, Robertus de la, Capellanus Radulphi Episcopi Aberdonensis, i. 567.
Rune, Frater Johannes, iii. 251.
Runsiman, Florentius, ii. 187.
Rure, David, i. 382.
Russell of Moncoffer, i. 111.
..... James, ii. 434.
..... John, Chaplain of Murray, ii. 188.
Rust, Dr., Chaplain of Old Aberdeen, i. 214.
..... Alexander, iv. 347.
..... Andrew, iv. 347.
..... David, iv. 348.
..... Robert, iii. 77.
.... Notary, iii. 400; iv. 495.
..... William, iv. 348.
Rutherford, Alexander, Burgess of Aberdeen, iii. 215, 220.
..... Allan, iv. 102, 103, 104.
..... Henry, iv. 402.
..... James, of That Ilk, iv. 49.
..... John, Knight, ii. 355.
.... Burgess of Aberdeen, iv. 575.
.... Provost of Aberdeen, Knight, i. 518; iii. 42, 46, 560.
..... Nicholas, iv. 697.
..... Patrick, Burgess of Aberdeen, iii. 220.
..... Frater Thomas, iii. 251.
Rutherin, Filius Gillemichel, ii. 15.
Ruthven, Lord, William, iii. 35, 36, 351; iv. 119, 120, 766.
..... George, iv. 506.
..... James, iii. 34.
..... John, of That Ilk, Knight, iv. 193.
.... of Cragyngaw, iv. 120.

Ruthven, Margaret, widow of Alexander, Earl of Buchan, iii. 167.
..... Walter, of Lunan, ii. 406; iv. 47.
Rwok, Humphrey, iv. 469.
Ry, Henry of, Clerk, iv. 606.
Ryburne, Gilbert, Burgess of Aberdeen, iii. 259.
Rynde, James, of Broxmouthe, iii. 511.
Ryvers, John, iv. 108.

S. Andrea, Nicholas de, ii. 24.
..... Simon de, Clericus Willelmi Episcopi Sancti Andree, i. 257.
S. Michaele, Henricus de, iii. 428, 429.
..... Johannes de, i. 234, 422, 423; ii. 378; iii. 4, 177; iv. 125.
.... de Quhichester, iii. 412.
..... Patricius de, Miles, i. 340.
..... Rogerus de, iii. 176, 177.
..... Willelmus de, iii. 4, 318, 319.
Saffyntoun, Petrus, iv. 64.
St. Andrews, Archbishop of, Alexander Stewart, ii. 347; iii. 79; iv. 134.
.... Arthur Ross, ii. 43, 77.
.... David Bethune, iii. 249, 251.
.... George Gladstanes, i. 166.
.... James Bethune, iii. 110, 165, 346.
.... Sharp, i. 571; ii. 112; iii. 223, 428.
.... Stewart, i. 504; iii. 220, 247; iv. 36, 490.
.... John Hamilton, i, 210, 384; ii. 93; iii. 36, 187, 227, 228, 252, 253; iv. 480.
.... John Spottiswood, i. 167.
St. Andrews, Archbishop of, William Shives, iii. 314, 347, 511, 579; iv. 215.
..... Archdeacon of, Alexander Inglis, ii. 141.
.... Gavin Dunbar, ii. 347, 362, 404, 405; iv. 47, 134, 223, 224, 226, 464.
.... John of Pebles, i. 233, 316, 390; ii. 85; iv. 376.
.... Lawrence, i. 567; ii. 72; iv. 117.
.... Matthew, ii. 15, 16.
.... Robert de Fontibus, iii. 165.
.... Walter, iii. 4.
.... William Shives, iii. 522, 528.
..... Bishop of, David, i. 177, 620.
.... Gameline, i. 311; iii. 4.
.... Henry Wardlaw, i. 503; ii. 162, 227; iii. 26, 96; iv. 172, 387, 458.
.... Hugh, iii. 4.
.... James Kennedy, i. 260; iii. 403, 413; iv. 63, 201.
.... Richard, ii. 15; iii. 3.
.... Robert, i. 169, 175, 176.
.... Roger, ii. 27; iii. 4.
.... W., i. 567.
.... Walter Trail, i. 290, 310, 499; ii. 31, 99; iii. 4, 141, 165, 296, 297, 363; iv. 164, 319, 642.
.... William Fraser, i. 286; iv. 699, 700.
.... William Lamberton, i. 169, 627; iii. 212; iv. 612.

St. Andrews, Bishop of, William Landal, i. 233, 316, 390, 483, 539, 540, 549, 550; ii. 37, 44, 84, 305; iii. 181, 531, 573; iv. 84, 114, 156, 374, 376, 599, 718.
.... Malvoisin, i. 170, 175, 176, 177, 256, 619.
..... Prior of, H., ii. 284, 285.
.... John, ii. 22; iii. 52, 164, 165, 357, 358, 398, 473, 515.
.... Hepburn, iii. 110, 185, 496.
.... Patrick, iii. 349.
.... Simon, i. 257.
.... Thomas, i. 176.
..... Subprior of, R., ii. 285.
..... John of, see Fyvie, Prior of.
St. Clair, Alexander of, i. 435; ii. 384; iv. 122.
..... David of, i. 373.
..... James of, iv. 161.
..... John of, ii. 98; iv. 161.
.... of Herdmanston, iv. 724.
..... Richard of, i. 373; ii. 97, 98.
..... Robert of, see Murray, Dean of.
..... Thomas of, ii. 384; iv. 122.
.... Prebendary of Aberlour, ii. 291.
..... William of, iv. 162, 607.
St. Hilary, Emma de, iv. 599.
St. John's, Lord of, James, iii. 359, 360.
.... William, i. 278; ii. 235, 236; iii. 52, 164, 213, 358, 398, 515.
Saithlie, Walterus, Vicarius de Deer, iv. 54.
Salcop, Thomas of, iii. 428.
Salleltoch, Walterus de, ii. 282.
Salomon, Clericus, i. 566.
Salteby, Frater Willelmus de, ii. 247.
Saltoun, Lord, Alexander, ii. 225, 251, 257; iii. 154, 395.
.... Arthur, iii. 70.
.... William, ii. 229, 250, 358, 359.
..... Master of, Alexander, ii. 225, 226, 227, 251.
..... Willelmus, Dominus de Abernethy, Rothiemay, et, ii. 225, 251.
Sampson, Thomas, i. 573.
Sancta Crux, see Holyrood.
Sancto Claro, see St. Clair.
..... Martino, Alexander de, iv. 691, 692.
Sanders, William, Minister of Bellie, ii. 268.
Sandeson, Sir James, ii. 188.
Sandfor, Willelmus de, Clericus, iv. 117.
Sandilands of Crabstone, i. 238.
..... Sir James, iv. 727.
.... of Calder, iv. 166, 167, 729.
..... James, iv. 171.
..... Patrick, Knight, iv. 727.
..... Thomas, Commissary of Aberdeen, i. 238.
Sands, Frater Ricardus, ii. 236, 238.
Sangster, Frater Andreas, iii. 169.
..... William, ii. 436.
Sanquhar, Duncan, of Murecroft, i. 343; ii. 353; iii. 168.
..... Gilbert, iv. 188.
.... of Murecroft, i. 485.
..... Patrick, i. 234.
..... Thomas, of Murecroft, iii. 168, 170.

Sauchak, John, vicar of Crimond, ii. 394; iii. 238; iv. 80.
Sauchhe, Jacobus, capellanus, iv. 657.
Saute, Frater Robertus de, ii. 247.
Scevan, Willelmus, Carmelita Aberdonensis, i. 656.
Scharcheburg, Rogerus de, Officialis de Aberdeen, i. 562.
Schevale, Johannes, iv. 591.
Schiref, George, i. 464.
Schoriswod, Georgius de, Rector de Cultre, iii. 403, 413; iv. 119.
Schuvind, Andreas, ii. 229.
Scissor, Alexander, iii. 178.
Sclugy, Nicholas, Monachus de Deer, iii. 275.
Scolgo, Gillemor, of Tarland, iv. 690.
Scone, Abbot of, Hugh, iv. 699.
.... James, ii. 316; iv. 490.
.... R., ii. 301.
Scott, Alexander, iv. 198, 328, 583.
.... of Megmar, Knight, iv. 216.
.... Clerk of Register, and Parson of Philorth, i. 434.
.... Notary, iv. 593.
.... Rector of Wigton, iii. 102, 276, 348; iv. 216.
..... Andrew, iv. 85.
.... Monk of Aberbrothock, ii. 128.
..... David, i. 382; iv. 96, 97.
.... Vicar of Culsamond, iii. 495.
..... George, ii. 408; iv. 535, 587.
..... John, i. 630; iv. 378, 383, 471, 782.
.... of Scottistarvet, Knight, iv. 254, 273.
Scott, Marca, Burgensis de Aberdeen, iii. 358.
..... Michael, ii. 235.
.... Knight, iv. 699.
..... Patrick, iv. 583.
..... R., Sub-prior de Aberbrothock ii. 128.
..... Richard, iv. 468.
..... Robert, iii. 5.
.... Director of Chancery, iii. 542.
..... Frater Thomas, iii. 251.
..... Thomas, de Pitgormo, iv. 352.
..... Sir Walter, of Branxum, i. 318.
..... Walter, of Tuschelaw, iv. 672.
..... William, i. 383; ii. 433; iv. 95.
.... of Auchtydonald, i. 413.
.... of Balvery, ii. 45; iii. 88, 116.
.... Knight, ii. 266; iv. 39, 466, 560.
.... of Elie, Knight, iv. 749.
.... of Grangemure, iii. 383, 571.
Scougal, Henry, i. 506.
..... John, of That Ilk, i. 168.
..... Patrick, see Aberdeen, Bishop of.
Scroggs, Johannes, iv. 62, 454.
.... senior, iv. 206, 207, 208, 212, 257, 261.
.... Præpositus de Aberdeen, iii. 272.
..... Willelmus, Vicarius de Nigg, i. 261.
Scrymgeour of Duddop, i. 532.
..... Alexander, ii. 197, 198.

Scrymgeour, Alexander, Capellanus de Sonaharde, iv. 431.
..... David, i. 282, 513; iv. 43, 204, 393, 431, 433.
..... Jacobus, ii. 135; iv. 431, 432, 433.
.... Constabularius de Dundee, iii. 515; iv. 432, 433.
.... de Sonnahard, iv. 432.
.... Burgensis de Dundee, ii. 45.
..... James, Parson of Fordyce, ii. 348.
..... Johannes, ii. 45; iv. 183.
.... Constabularius de Dundee, iv. 195.
.... de Glaster, iv. 432.
..... Walterus, de Glaswell, iv. 417.
Sellar, Walter, iii. 582.
..... William, i. 113.
Semple, Lord, Hugh, iv. 304.
..... Willelmus, de Fulwode, iv. 304.
Sengour, Archibaldus, Burgensis de Aberdeen, iii. 216.
Senescall, Johannes, i. 523.
Senescalli, Alexander, filius Roberti II., i. 404.
..... W., filius Alani, Justiciarii Scotiæ, ii. 56, 57.
Senescallus, Alanus, Justiciarius Scotiæ, ii. 109.
..... Alexander, iv. 168, 169, 170.
.... Dominus de Badenach, Miles, i. 288; iv. 376.
.... Dominus de Badenach, i. 484.
.... de Lorne, iv. 383.
.... de Provand, iv. 643.
Senescallus, Andreas, filius Roberti, Ducis Albaniæ, ii. 35.
.... frater Comitis de Mar, iv. 178, 179.
.... Miles, ii. 314.
.... de Portastoune, Miles, iv. 383.
..... Jacobus, iv. 453.
..... Johannes, ii. 351; iv. 87.
.... de Buchan, iv. 179.
.... de Coull, iv. 643.
.... de Lorne, ii. 36, 162, 314.
.... Miles, i. 472; iv. 179, 383, 452.
..... Robertus, filius Murdaci, Ducis Albaniæ, ii. 264.
.... filius Roberti, Ducis Albaniæ, ii. 35.
.... nepos Roberti, Ducis Albaniæ, ii. 36.
.... de Fyfe, ii. 162, 314; iv. 179.
.... de Invermeth, Miles, iv. 114.
.... de Lorne, i. 472.
..... Walterus, iv. 84.
.... Miles, ii. 390.
.... de Brechin, i. 502.
.... filius Alani, iv. 698.
Seres, Robertus, Notarius, iii. 514.
..... Thomas, iv. 635.
Serf, St., i. 557; iii. 63, 462.
Serras, Jacobus, Capellanus Moraviensis, ii. 188.
..... Robertus de, Praepositus de Dundee, iv. 468.
Seton, Lord, Alexander, iv. 205.

Seton, Lord, George, iii. 84, 509; iv. 77.
..... of Auchinhive, i. 360.
..... of Meldrum, i. 166, 532, 558.
..... of Minnis, i. 366.
..... of Mounie, i. 581.
..... of Pitmedden, i. 111.
..... of Scotsmill, i. 285.
..... Alexander, See Aberdeen, Chancellor of.
.... Chancellor of Aberdeen, i. 628; iii. 85, 86, 206, 254, 255, 352, 381, 485; iv. 540.
.... i. 471; ii. 235.
.... Knight, i. 277; iii. 293; iv. 612, 711.
..... Frater Alexander de, Dominus ejusdem, Custos Domus Sancti Johannis de Torfechyn, i. 318.
..... Alexander, of Gordon, i. 393, 555, 556; iii. 317, 517, 521, 577, iv. 181, 205, 340, 341, 391, 395, 396, 419, 420.
.... of Meldrum, i. 321, 348, 382; iii. 73, 74, 377, 413, 414; iv. 92, 343, 405, 416, 486, 500, 590.
..... Sir Alexander, of Pitmedden, i. 358, 360.
..... Alexander, of Pitmedden, i. 359, 362.
.... of Touch Fraser, Knight, iv. 39, 83, 559.
.... of Tullybody, Knight, ii. 266.
.... i. 556.
.... of Urquhart, iv. 499.
.... Usufructuarius de Meldrum, iv. 500.
Seton, Alexander, Minister of Banff, ii. 110.
.... Minister of Morthlack, ii. 258.
.... Vicarius de Bothelny, iii. 224.
..... David, parson of Fettercairn, ii. 404, 405.
.... Presbyter, iii. 74.
.... Vicar of Creich, iii. 333.
..... George, iv. 500.
.... Knight, iv. 203.
.... of Kinkell, iii. 427.
..... Gilbert, Knight, iv. 193.
..... Hugh, ii. 286.
..... James, iv. 500.
.... of Bourtie, i. 359.
.... of Pitmedden, i. 360; iii. 422.
.... of Shethin, iii. 76.
..... John, ii. 367; iii. 42; iv. 39, 466, 560.
.... of Disblair, iii. 410.
.... of Meldrum, iii. 422.
.... of Pitmedden, i. 359.
.... burgess of Aberbrothock, i. 512.
..... William, Chancellor of Aberdeen, iii. 400.
.... Brother of Alexander, Earl of Huntly, i. 558.
.... i. 558; ii. 378; iii. 577; iv. 70, 125, 342, 399, 495.
.... of Blair, iii. 419.
.... of Echt, iii. 582, 583; iv. 205.
.... of Meldrum, i. 115, 359; iii. 73, 74, 413; iv. 309.

Seton, Sir William, of Pitmedden, i. 358, 360.
..... William, of Udny, i. 285; iv. 589.
.... Minister at Logie Buchan, iii. 76.
Sewir, Johannes de, See Fyvie, Custos de.
Shand, Alexander, iii. 497.
.... Reader at King-Edward, i. 228.
..... Donald, Notary, iii. 567.
..... Robert, ii. 432.
.... Portioner of Udacht, ii. 358, 359.
..... Thomas, of Craig, iii. 225.
..... William, ii. 432.
.... of Craig, iii. 225.
Sharp, James, See St. Andrews, Archbishop of.
..... William, i. 113.
.... Sheriff clerk of Banff, ii. 372.
Shaw, Alexander, of Dell, ii. 297.
..... Captain, iii. 282.
..... James, of Sauchie, iii. 146, 148, 417.
Shedow, Paulus, monachus de Lindores, iii. 410.
Sherar, Frater Alexander, iii. 119; iv. 29, 32.
..... Alexander, ii. 431.
..... Andrew, i. 573; iv. 402.
.... Dean of Garioch, iii. 513.
.... Burgess of Aberdeen, ii. 328; iii. 216.
.... Chaplain, iii. 77, 241.
Sherar, Andrew, Provost of Aberdeen, iii. 144.
.... Vicar of Nigg, i. 260; iii. 247.
..... Duncan, iv. 402.
.... Canon of Aberdeen, i. 262.
.... Parson of Clatt, i. 159, 563; iii. 77, 236, 238, 241, 247, 371, 464.
.... Vicar of Banff, ii. 126.
.... Vicar of Nigg, i. 260.
..... John, Burgess of Aberdeen, iii. 216, 295.
..... Patrick, iv. 316.
..... Thomas, Vicar of Monymusk, iii. 483, 484, 486, 500.
..... William, of Kinnellor, iii. 241; iv. 401.
Shetland, Archdeacon of, Walter Buchan, i. 373.
Sheyn, Robert, ii. 433.
Shives of That Ilk, i. 334.
..... Adam, iv. 782.
..... Johannes, iv. 347.
.... Clericus, iv. 196.
.... Clericus Rotulorum et Registri, i. 500, 503; ii. 342.
.... Clericus Registri, ii. 382.
..... William, See St. Andrews, Archdeacon of.
Sibbald, Alexander, iii. 541.
..... David, Minister of New Deer, i. 405.
..... James, ii. 173, 188.
.... Vicar of Arbuthnot, i. 656.
.... Notary, ii. 250.

Sibbald, John, iv. 368.
.... of Balgony, Knight, iv. 193.
.... iv. 49.
..... Walter, ii. 55.
Sibilla, filia Simonis Thani de Aberkerdor, ii. 217, 218.
Sigillo, Hugo de, ii. 192.
.... Clericus Willelmi Regis, ii. 56; iii. 177.
Silver, Willelmus, Capellanus de Follocht Roule, iii. 549.
Sim, John, ii. 261; iv. 428.
.... Priest, iii. 103.
..... Walter, ii. 261.
.... Minister at Glass and Murthlach, ii. 185, 258.
..... William, Notary, iv. 428.
Simon, Clericus, ii. 169.
.... Andree Episcopi Moraviensis, ii. 193, 282.
..... Persona de Dundurkus, ii. 286.
.... Roscolpyn, ii. 155.
..... Praepositus Sancti Andree, i. 567, ii. 72.
..... Prior of Kinloss, ii. 247, 283.
..... Thane of Aberchirder, ii. 216, 217, 322.
..... Vicarius de Dulbathlach, ii. 143.
.... Dundurkus, ii. 284.
Simonis, Alexander, Vicarius de Banchory-Ternan, i. 515, 516.
..... David, Burgensis de Aberdeen, i. 347.
..... Johannes, Rector de Codilstan, ii. 9.
Simpil, John, of Eliotstoun, ii. 140; iv. 193.
..... Robert, of Eliotstoun, Knight, i. 285.
..... Sir William, iii. 58.
..... William, iv. 190.
Simpson, of Concraig, i. 110, 281.
..... of Thornton, i. 111, 564.
..... of Udach, i. 463.
..... Frater Alexander, iii. 168, 169.
..... Alexander, Capellanus, iii. 423; iv. 441.
.... Parson of Monymusk, ii. 365, iii. 500.
.... Vicar of Aberkerdor, ii. 208, 210, 211, 212, 213, 214, 215.
.... Vicar of Banchory-Ternan, ii. 63, 64.
.... Vicar of Oyne, iii. 446.
..... Andrew, ii. 118; iv. 561.
.... Vicar of Banchory-Ternan, ii. 64.
.... Vicar of Gamerie, iv. 142.
..... David, Burgess of Aberdeen, iii. 144, 168.
..... James, Reader at Peter Ugy i. 229.
..... John, i. 573.
.... Notary, iv. 649.
..... Thomas, ii. 433.
..... William, iv. 689.
.... Monk of Lindores, iii. 391.
.... Notary, iv. 687.
Sinclair, Lord, Henry, i. 373; iii. 83, 103, 106, 108, 109; iv. 497.

Sinclair, Lord, William, iii. 97, 98, 99, 100, 101, 102, 103, 104, 110, 111.
..... of Deskford, i. 647.
..... of Findlater, i. 647.
..... Adam, iv. 673.
.... Prebendary of Crichton, iv. 672.
..... James, Vicar of Aberkerdor, ii. 208.
..... John, Brother of the Earl of Orkney, iii. 95, 96.
.... of Deskford, ii. 106.
.... Notary, iv. 279.
..... Magnus, son of William, Lord Sinclair, iii. 103.
..... Robert, iii. 177, 247.
..... Thomas, Presbyter, iv. 727.
..... Sir Walter iv. 729.
..... Walter, iii. 247.
..... William, See Dunkeld, Bishop of.
.... iv. 205.
.... Baron of Newburgh, i. 322.
Skade, Willelmus, Capellanus Moraviensis, ii. 188.
Skene of Dyce, i. 110, 533.
..... of Easter Echt, i. 110.
..... of Lethinty, i. 110, 236, 533, 537.
..... of Ramore, i. 638.
..... of Skene, i. 111, 279, 638.
..... Adam, of That Ilk, iii. 318, 319, 320, 321, 322, 323.
..... Alexander, i. 280, 284; ii. 45; iii. 318, 322, 325, 326, 327.
.... of That Ilk, i. 281; ii. 45; iii. 33, 64, 89, 94, 103, 126, 170, 193, 241, 260, 314, 315, 316, 335, 340, 384, 418, 446, 518, 519, 533, 540, 551, 561, 563, 589, 591, 592; iv. 40, 46, 50, 79, 94, 111, 121, 143, 330, 331, 367, 402, 442, 762, 769.
Skene, Alexander, of Dyce, iii. 226, 316.
..... Arthur, Reader at Logiemar, i. 230.
.... Vicar of Glenbucket, iv. 449.
..... Gilbert, of That Ilk, iii. 314, 315; iv. 90.
..... Sir James, of Curriehill, i. 638.
..... James, iii. 334, 404; iv. 188, 190, 331, 390.
.... of That Ilk, i. 281, 282, 283, 284, 393; iii. 313, 314, 318, 319, 321, 322, 323, 324, 325, 326, 327; iv. 142, 198, 205, 206, 207, 208, 212, 257, 261, 399.
.... of Wester Cors, iv. 762.
.... Notary, iii. 443; iv. 624.
..... Sir John, iv. 372.
..... John, i. 280; ii. 44, 45; iii. 78; iv. 59.
.... Clerk Register, i. 638; iii. 383; iv. 372.
.... of Dyce, iii. 226.
.... of Skene, iii. 226, 316, 428.
.... of Ouchterarne, i. 290, 315; ii. 45; iii. 53, 257, 553; iv. 38.
..... Patrick, iv. 762.
..... Robert, iv. 56, 57, 58.
.... That Ilk i. 279 280; iii. 313.

Skene, Robert, Exhorter at Tarland, and Migvie, i. 230.
.... Vicar of Logy iii. 442.
..... Thomas, iv. 142.
..... William, iv. 657.
.... the Clerk of, iii. 428.
.... Notary, iv. 279.
Skeoucht, Andreas, Notarius, iii. 489, 491, 492, 493, 495, 496.
Skinner, James, ii. 262.
.... John, ii. 78.
.... Monk of Lindores, iii. 394, 410.
.... Notary, iii. 515.
..... William, iv. 630.
Skyrnichue, Alexander, de Aberbrothock, Senescallus Jonannis Abbatis de Aberbrothock, i. 512.
Slains, Robert of, i. 394.
..... William of, i. 154, 408, 561; ii. 428; iii. 130.
Slayeris, Adam, iv. 471.
Slorath, Alexander, ii. 252.
Smalham, Michael de, ii. 287.
Smaly, Johannes, Presbyter, iii. 267.
Smart, Henry, iv. 147.
..... Johannes, Ballivus de Kintore, iii. 235.
Smaw, Robertus, ii. 45.
Smith of Blairdaff, i. 110.
..... of Inveramsay, i. 110, 537.
..... Alexander, ii. 12, 355.
.... of Blairdaff, iii. 389.
..... Andrew, ii. 61, 62, 64.
..... James, ii. 184; iii. 394.
..... John, ii. 237, 361, 366, 433; iii. 527; iv. 131.
.... of Smythersland, ii. 12.
Smith, John, Monk of Lindores, iii. 391, 394.
..... Nicoll, Reader at Methlick, i. 229.
..... Peter, of Inveramsay, i. 285.
..... Robert, ii. 365; iv. 316.
.... Exhorter at Ruven, i. 230.
..... Thomas, i. 424; ii. 358, 395, 433; iv. 445, 598.
.... Notary, iv. 446.
..... Frater Willelmus, iii. 119; iv. 29, 32.
..... William, i. 424.
.... of Midletoune, iii. 389.
.... Reader at Ennerbourndye, i. 228.
Smolt, Johannes, iii. 374; iv. 738.
Smowt, Thomas, iv. 591.
..... Willelmus, iv. 591.
Sodorensis Episcopus, see Isles, Bishop of the.
Soletre, Alanus de, Vicarius de Culter, i. 293, 294.
..... J. de, i. 293, 294.
..... Johannes de, i. 565, 566.
.... Capellanus Radulphi, Episcopi Aberdonensis, i. 568; ii. 123.
Somerville, Lord, William, iii. 403, 413; iv. 397, 398.
..... Franciscus, ii. 184.
..... Thomas, iii. 203.
..... Willelmus de, i. 336.
Somyr, Willelmus, ii. 134.
Soulis, Ermigera de, iv. 609.
..... John of, iii. 135.
..... Nicholas de, i. 299, 548; iii. 338.

Souter, William, iv. 348.
Spalding, Andrew, iv. 432.
..... John, ii. 261; iv. 610.
..... Patrick, see Aberdeen, Dean of.
..... Simon, iv. 610.
Spark, Henry, Reader at Quoquoddilstane, i. 229.
Speed, George, Minister of Aberlour, ii. 290.
Spence, Alexander, see Monymusk, Prior of.
..... Andrew, Reader at Monkegye, i. 230.
..... David, i. 385; ii. 237, 366.
..... Henry, of Bothum, iii. 53.
..... John, ii. 369; iv. 354, 779.
.... Canon of Murray, ii. 266.
.... Rothesay, Herald, i. 325.
..... Robert, iii. 123.
..... Thomas, see Aberdeen, Bishop of.
.... Marus Vicecomitatus de Banff, i. 477.
..... William, i. 344; iii. 263.
.... of Boddume, iv. 232.
.... Reader at Kynnoir and Dumbennan, ii. 152.
Spenke, David, Burgess of Dundee, iii. 13.
Spiny, Willelmus de, Canonicus Moraviensis, ii. 201, 205, 206.
Spittal, Alexander, ii. 317.
.... Parson of Clatt, i. 156.
.... Prebendary of Clatt, iii. 71, 352, 443.
..... Henry, iii. 161; iv. 332.
Spittal, John, iv. 486.
Spot, Ninianus de, Canonicus Dunkeldensis, i. 427, 606; iii. 444, 514; iv. 68, 77, 78, 206.
.... Computorum Regis Rotulator, i. 542.
Spottiswood, John, see St. Andrews, Archbishop of.
..... Sir Robert, iv. 307.
Spring, Thomas, Burgess of Aberdeen, iii. 93, 295, 320.
Spyni, Henricus de, Vicarius de Banff, ii. 130.
..... William of, see Murray, Precentor of.
Stacarte, William. ii. 432.
Staker, Andrew, ii. 407.
Starroli, Laurencius, Vicarius de Coul, ii. 27, 28.
Staunforth, Rogerus de, Vicarius de Banchory-Ternan, i. 562.
Stenhouss, Willelmus, ii. 355.
Stephanus, Canonicus Aberdonensis, i. 566.
..... Clericus, ii. 17, 20; iii. 5.
.... Radulfi Episcopi Aberdonensis, ii. 123.
.... Willelmi Episcopi Sancti Andree, i. 176.
.... Persona de Lochres, i. 564.
..... Diaconus, ii. 16; iv. 693, 727.
..... dictus Broky, Curiæ Vicecomitatus de Banff Judex, i. 477.
..... Persona de Glass, ii. 180.
..... Senescallus Radulfi Episcopi Aberdonensis, i. 568.
Steven, Alexander, iv. 347.
..... Andrew, iv. 347.

Steven, Andrew, Burgess of Aberdeen, iii. 216.
..... Robert, Minister of Aberlour, ii. 250.
Stevenson, Alexander, iv. 478.
.. .. Andrew, Chaplain, iii. 35.
. . John, ii. 141; iv. 31, 555.
. . . . Baillie of Cullen, ii. 141.
..... John, Burgess of Aberdeen, iii. 259.
..... Nicholas, Notary, iv. 445.
..... Patrick, iv. 352.
..... Robert, Prior of Deer, i. 188; ii. 411, 430, 431; iv. 32, 33.
.... iv. 27.
..... William, Chaplain, iv. 173.
Stevenston, Andrew, Baillie of Edinburgh, iv. 33.
Stewart of Bogue, ii. 311.
..... of Dens, i. 110.
..... of Lesmurdie, i. 615.
..... Adam, iii. 306.
..... Sir Alexander, iv. 167.
.... "the Wolf of Badenoch," iv. 185, 186.
..... Alexander, ii. 407; iv. 43, 183, 184, 235, 387, 649.
.... Hæres Jacobi Comitis de Buchan, iii. 508.
.... Son of Earl of Buchan, iv. 247, 256, 267, 268, 274, 276.
.... See Murray, Chancellor of.
... . of Badenoch, iii. 521.
.... of Sandhalch, iii. 582.
..... Sir Andrew, ii. 296.
.. .. Andrew, Knight, i. 541. iii. 51; iv. 183, 486, 541.
Stewart, Andrew, Brother of Alexander Earl of Mar, i. 555.
.... of Albany, Knight, iv. 193.
.... of Sandhalch, iii. 582, 583.
.... of Tannachie, iv. 147.
..... Archibald, i. 285, 514; iv. 209.
..... Arthur, of Kynimachlo, ii. 295.
..... Charles, of Drummin, ii. 296.
..... David, Knight, iv. 68, 69.
.... of Rossytht, Knight, i. 478; iii. 516, 517.
.... Burgess of Aberdeen, iii. 558.
.... Commissary of Murray, iv. 81.
.... Reader at Quoquoddilstane, i. 229.
..... Egidia, iv. 44.
..... Henrietta, Marchioness of Huntly, ii. 165.
..... Henry, ii. 266, 326, 384; iii. 581.
..... James, ii. 261; iii. 508.
.... see St. Andrews, Archbishop of.
.... see Murray, Dean of.
.... Son of Murdoch Duke of Albany, iii. 587.
.... Brother of the Earl of Mar, iv. 178, 382.
.... Knight, ii. 315.
.... of Baddinsponk, iii. 583
.... of Riland, ii. 368, 370, 408; iii. 306, 542.
.... of Sandlauch, ii. 316.
.... of Trakware, iii. 583.

Stewart, James, Minister of Inveraven, ii. 294.
..... Jane, wife of Alexander Earl of Huntly, i. 165.
..... Johannes, Praepositus Ecclesiæ de Methven, iv. 191.
..... John, ii. 430 ; iii. 34 ; iv. 96.
.... Son of James III., iv. 215.
.... Knight, iii. 370.
.... of Buchan, iii. 96.
..... Captain John, of Denns, i. 399.
..... John, of Invermey, iii. 320.
.... of Lorn, iii. 96, 231.
.... Burgess of Aberdeen, ii. 328.
.... Minister of Aberlour, ii. 290.
.... Minister of Inveraven, ii. 294.
.... Notary, ii. 266.
.... Professor, i. 54.
.... Treasurer of Aberdeen, iii. 206, 352, 443.
..... Lewis, iv. 247, 248, 273, 277, 283, 291, 301, 307.
..... Murdacus, de Kynclevyn, iii. 263.
..... Nicholas, ii. 184.
..... Patrick, i. 490.
.... of Kathdrum, iii. 539.
.... of Latheris, i. 290, 315 ; iii. 65, 78, 84, 105, 243, 257, 305, 315, 375, 421, 511, 516, 524, 553 ; iv. 37, 40, 83.
.... Chaplain, ii. 325, 326.
.... Sheriff Depute of Banff, ii. 367.
Stewart, Robert, i. 118 ; iii. 84, 523, 524.
.... of Bute, iv. 193.
.... of Fornathie, iv. 471, 782.
.... of Latheris, i. 464 ; ii. 326, 366, 380 ; iv. 456, 590.
.... of Lorn, iii. 582, 583.
.... of Portestonne, iv. 762.
.... of Werquhat, iv. 762.
.... Vicar of Aberdeen, iii. 180.
..... Frater Robertus, iii. 251.
..... Theophilus, Professor of Humanity, i. 66.
..... Sir Thomas, iv. 181, 182, 204, 205.
..... Thomas, ii. 261, 296 ; iv. 183, 184, 247, 670,
.... Knight, iv. 183.
.... son of Alexander Earl of Mar, i. 555 ; iv. 256, 257, 262, 263, 264, 266, 269, 270, 281, 282, 283 284, 285, 287, 288, 296, 300, 301, 302.
..... Sir Thomas, of Minto, i. 165.
..... Thomas, Notary, iii. 198.
..... Walter, i. 180 ; iii. 392, 429 ; iv. 182.
.... see Dunblane, Archdeacon of.
..... Sir Walter, of Arthurly, i. 165.
..... Walter, of Burlie, Knight, iv. 44.
.... of Munes, i. 347.
.... of Strathawin, iv. 191, 405, 406.

Stewart, Walter, of Strathawin, Knight, ii. 296, 306, 309; iv. 206, 212, 261, 476.
.... Principal of King's College, iii. 51.
..... Willelmus, Clericus, iv. 97.
..... William, ii. 261, 266.
.... see Aberdeen, Bishop of.
Steyll, John, Burgess of Aberdeen, i. 422, 423.
.... Chaplain, iv. 173.
..... Patrick, Monk of Lindores, iii. 394, 410.
Stirling, Archibald, of Keir, Knight, iv. 304.
..... George, iv. 83.
.... of Breky, ii. 430; iv. 439.
.... Notary, iii. 529.
..... Gilbert, see Aberdeen, Bishop of.
..... Henricus de, filius Comitis, i. 258, 337.
.... filius Comitis David, ii. 235.
.... i. 548, 624, 625.
..... John, ii. 42.
.... Knight, ii. 159.
.... Notary, i. 457, 518; iii. 32, 46, 47, 71, 77, 82, 95, 102, 149, 184, 225, 236, 259, 275, 301, 366, 414, 453, 454, 459, 475, 510, 541, 553, 554, 558, 560; iv. 42, 80, 313, 343, 439, 456, 633.
.... Presbyter Sancti Andree, iv. 738.
..... Richard, Notary, iii. 124.
..... Simon, i. 292; ii. 21.
.... Clericus Gilberti Episcopi Aberdonensis, ii. 122.
Stirling, Thomas, Cancellarius Regis, ii. 235.
.... Clericus, i. 561.
..... William, Knight, iv. 607.
Stoit, Johannes, iv. 347.
Stormont, Viscount of, David, i. 570.
Stormonth, Magister de, Quintigernus Murray, iv. 304.
Story, Willelmus, Officialis Aberdonensis, i. 196; iii. 546.
Stot, John, iv. 782.
Strachan of Dalhakie, i. 110; ii. 6.
..... of Glenkindie, i. 110, 584, 652.
..... of Lenturk, i. 605.
..... of Thornton, i. 601, 637.
..... see Monymusk, Prior of.
..... Adam, i. 618; iv. 467.
..... Alexander, ii. 44; iv. 97, 378, 399.
.... of Carmyly, ii. 43.
.... of Dulleuarde, iii. 441.
.... of Glenkindie, iii. 481, 482; iv. 317, 442, 470, 780.
.... younger of Glenkindie, iv. 469, 470.
.... of Kinnetlis, iii. 203.
.... of Ledynturk, i. 404, 605; ii. 103; iv. 343, 347, 350, 741.
.... of Losmordy, iv. 461.
.... of Thornton, i. 167; ii. 366; iv. 367.
..... Andrew, ii. 356, 357, 404; iii. 127; iv. 740.
.... of Ardlethen, iii. 153.
.... of Ordley, iii. 408.
.... Minister at Tillenesle, iv. 136, 137.
..... Arthur, iv. 673.

Strachan, Arthur, Minister of Morthlack, ii. 258.
..... David, of Carmyly, ii. 44, 45.
.... of Thornton, ii. 354; iii. 38, 127, 138, 154.
..... Donald, i. 235.
..... Duncan, of Glenkindy, i. 290; iii. 52, 315, 553; iv. 38, 40, 468.
..... George, iv. 461.
.... of Estirlosmurdy, iv. 462.
.... of Losmordy, iv. 460.
.... Bailie of Aberdeen, i. 190.
..... Gilbert, ii. 187.
.... Canon of Aberdeen, iii. 331, 332, 333.
..... Henry, of Balblay, iv. 443.
..... James, of Losmordy, iv. 463, 777.
.... Chaplain, iii. 586.
.... Notary, iv. 277, 278, 279, 326.
.... Prebendary of Belhelvie, iii. 71, 86, 206, 354, 435.
.... Prebendary of Botarie, ii, 187.
.... Prebendary of Forbes, iv. 371.
.... Presbyter of Aberdeen, iv. 740.
.... Vicar of Alford, iv. 144.
..... John, iv. 345, 427.
.... Knight, i. 538, 549; ii. 74; iii. 132; iv. 156, 159, 374, 716, 722.
.... of Carmyly, ii. 372; iii. 166, 167.
.... of Dullyvardis, iv. 366.
.... of Lenturk, iv. 364, 365, 367, 482, 758, 759.
Strachan, James, of Monbothow, iv. 366.
.... of Thornton, iv. 365, 461, 757.
.... Minister at Alford, &c., i. 226.
.... Minister at Clatt, &c., i. 230.
.... Minister at Tarves, iii. 468.
.... Minister at Tullinessil, &c., i. 226, 227.
.... Presbyter, iii. 358.
.... Reader at Cluny, i. 228.
.... Kynnairnye, i. 229.
..... Patrick, Reader at Tullinessil, i. 228.
..... Ranulphus de, ii. 55.
..... Ricardus, Capellanus, iii. 586.
.... Rector de Esse, iv. 343.
..... Richard, see Monymusk, Prior of.
..... Thomas, iv. 332, 350, 741.
.... of Glenkindy, iii. 51; iv. 381, 467.
.... of Lenturk, iv. 334, 335.
.... Presbyter Sancti Andree, i. 515.
.... Reader at Echt, i. 228.
.... Rector de Fetherneir, iii. 299.
..... Waldevus de, ii. 71.
..... Willelmus, Apparens de Tibbertie, iv. 368, 498.
..... William, ii. 38, 432, 468, 779, 780.
.... of Glenkindy, i. 118; v. 468, 469, 470, 762.
.... of Monboddo, iii. 87.

Strachan, William, of Tipperty, i. 115; iii. 129; iv. 366.
.... Parson of Daviot, iv. 516.
.... Prebendary of Botarie, ii. 187.
Strade, Johannes, Vicarius de Fyvie, iii. 554.
Stradehin, R. de, ii. 19.
Straihin, Alexander, ii. 262.
Straith, William, Reader at Culsalmond, i. 228.
Straithbocis, Willelmus de, i. 366, 368, 371.
Straloche, David, iii. 15.
Stralochus, Robertus, Aberdonensis, i. 236.
Strang, Andrew, Notary, ii. 181, 250.
Strathawyn, Johannes de, i. 502.
Strathbolge, Johannes, ii. 228.
Strathbolgyn, Decanus de, Willelmus, ii. 155.
..... David de, ii. 153, 227; iv. 712.
.... filius Duncani Comitis de Fyfe, ii. 154, 155, 156, 157, 158; ii. 259.
Strathbrock, Robert, see Caithness, Bishop of.
Strathe, William, iv. 127.
Stratheburg, R. de, Officialis Aberdonensis, i. 372.
Strathenry, Michael, de eodem, iii. 85.
Stratherne, Earl of, Malise, iv. 600.
.... Patrick, iii. 231.
.... R., i. 337.
.... Robert, iii. 293, 362, 531, 573.
.... Steward of Scotland, iv. 156, 374, 718.
Stratherne, Andrew of, iii. 135.
Strathmore, Earl of, John, iii. 6.
Strathovyn, Sir Walter of, Knight, iv. 403.
Strathspey, Decanus de, Gregorius, ii. 155.
Straton of Laurieston, i. 331.
..... Alexander, iv. 4.
.... de eodem, i. 282.
.... of Laurieston, iii. 148.
..... Arthur, iv. 362.
..... Captain, iii. 280.
..... David, i. 356, 389, 390.
..... James, ii, 38, 39.
..... John i. 382; iv. 99.
..... Thomas, i. 393.
Streitht, Willelmus, Capellanus, iii. 567.
Strulat, Willelmus, iv. 76.
Stryhyll, Robertus de, ii. 169.
Strylay, Andreas, ii. 261.
Stut, William, ii. 433.
Surays, Walterus, Officialis Moraviensis, ii. 217.
Sutherland, Earl of, John, ii. 250, 402; iv. 481, 625.
.... William, i. 498; ii. 49, 158, 159; iv. 613.
..... of Kinminity, ii. 257.
..... Alexander, of Duffus, i. 165.
.... of Kinminity, ii. 242.
.... Prebendary of Aberlour, ii. 291.
..... Hugh, iii. 588.
..... James, Tutor of Duffus, ii. 289.
..... John, iii. 588.
.... Knight, iv. 401.
..... Nicholas, Brother of William, Earl of Sutherland, iv. 613.
.... ii. 131.

Sutherland, Thomas, Prebendarius de Ellon, iii. 443.
.... Prebendary of Rhynie, ii. 179.
.... Usufructuary of Rhynie, ii. 179.
..... William, of Duffus, iii. 33.
.... Parson of Moy, ii. 188.
Suttour, Johannes, ii. 184.
Swan, Ricardus, Capellanus, iv. 648.
Swyntone, Sir John, iv. 163, 728.
Syme, John, iv. 471.
Symmer, George, of Balyordie, iv. 354, 355.
..... Lieutenant-Colonel Paul, of Mergie, iii. 191.
Syreis, A. de, ii. 302.
..... Adam de, i. 496.
.... Miles, ii. 15.
Syward, Ricardus, i. 625.

Taillefer, Arthur, Parson of Crimond, iv. 577.
.... Prebendary of Crimond, iii. 352.
..... Johannes, Clericus, iv. 212, 260.
Tait, Andrew, ii. 211, 212.
Talbot, Sir John, iv. 714.
..... Richard, iv. 713, 714.
Tarays, Adam de, Monachus, ii. 207.
Tarbet, Viscount of, George, iii. 112.
Tarkin, St., i. 644; ii. 94.
Tarras, Johannes de, Camerarius Comitis de Ross, iii. 533.
Tarres, Johannes de, Capellanus, ii. 199.
Tarves, Duncan of, ii. 419.
..... Johannes de, Clericus Moraviensis Diocesis, ii. 207.
Tatenhill, Willelmus de, i. 154.
Tatuell, James of, iv. 486.
..... William of, i. 626; ii. 120; iv. 486.
Taylor, Sir Andrew, ii. 333.
..... Andrew, i. 303, 389, 390.
..... George, iii. 298, 299.
..... Gilmichell, iv. 474.
..... James, Schoolmaster in Ordiphul, ii. 118.
..... John, ii. 261; iv. 347, 348.
..... Malcolm, ii. 262.
..... Thomas, ii. 261.
..... William, Burgess of Aberdeen, iii. 217.
Telleuer, Arthur, i. 120.
Templeman, Robertus, iv. 468.
..... Willelmus, iii. 264.
Tendman, Duncan, iii. 429.
Ternan, St., i. 387, 637, 656; ii. 7, 52, 53, 54.
Teunan, St., see Adamnan.
Teviotdale, Archdeacon of, John Lauder, iii. 251.
Teynd, Frater David, iii. 251.
Thane of Blackhall, i. 583.
..... John, ii. 135, 365; iv. 188.
..... Patricius, Vicarius de Inverkeithny, ii. 211, 212.
..... Willelmus de Calder, i. 606.
Thirlestane, Dominus Johannes, Cancellarius Scotiæ, ii 571.
Thom, Alexander, iv. 347.
..... James, iv. 347.
..... John, Reader at Deskford, i. 229.
..... Walter, iv. 348.
Thomas, Canonicus de Kambekynel, ii. 139.

Thomas, Capellanus, ii. 194, 279.
.... Bricii Episcopi Moraviensis, ii. 192.
..... filius Johannis, iv. 731.
.... Michael, i. 575.
..... Judex, i. 338; iii. 5.
..... Monachus de Aberbrothock, i. 565, 566.
..... nepos Mathei Episcopi Aberdonensis, i. 154.
..... The Rhymer, i. 398, 421, 447.
Thomson of Fechfield, i. 412.
..... Alexander, i. 302; iv. 775.
.... of Cults, Advocate, iii. 261.
..... Andrew, iii. 581.
.... Exhorter at Rayne and Daviot, i. 228.
.... Notary, i. 628; iii. 439, 440.
.... Reader at Rhynie, i. 230; ii. 151.
.... Tenant of Meikle Craig, i. 302.
..... David, ii. 45.
..... Duncan, iii. 489, 490.
.... of Auchinhamper, ii. 44; iii. 33; iv. 40, 343, 439.
..... George, iv. 689.
.... of Auchintoull, iv. 343.
.... Chaplain, i. 595.
.... Parson of Rothes, iii. 133.
..... Frater Gilbertus, iii. 169.
..... Gilbert, Notary, iv. 368.
..... James, Minister of Aberlour, ii. 290.
..... John, i. 382, 573; ii. 141; iii. 513; iv. 538.
Thomson, John, of Cults, iii. 261.
.... of Wester Disblair, iv. 762.
.... Chaplain, iii. 223.
..... Malcolm, iii. 373.
..... Thomas, ii. 369.
.... of Dudingstoun, Knight, iii. 310.
.... of Fechfield, i. 413.
.... Burgess of Aberdeen, iv. 689.
..... Walter, iv. 367.
..... Willelmus, Ballivus de Kintore, iii. 237, 238, 239.
..... William, iii. 35; iv. 447, 526.
.... Reader at Kinnethmont, i. 228.
Thomnilsone, Alexander, iv. 449, 450.
..... Robert, iv. 450.
Thorbrand, Jacobus, iii. 35.
Thornton, Johannes de, i. 282.
.... de eodem, i. 484, 485.
..... Walterus, iii. 317.
Tod, Robertus, Presbyter, iii. 122.
..... Willelmus, Capellanus, iv. 67, 437.
Torphichen, Prior of, Alexander Leighton, ii. 380; iv. 118.
..... Magister Domus de, Georgius Dundas, iii. 437.
.... Frater Robertus iii. 417.
.... Walterus Lindsay, Miles, iii. 594, 595, 596.
Torry, Frater Alexander, iv. 29, 32.
..... Andrew, ii. 429; iv. 52.
..... David, iv. 52.
..... John of, see Dunfermline Abbot of.

Torry, Thomas, ii. 432.
..... William, Burgess of Aberdeen, i. 368.
Tough, Donald, iv. 347.
..... Duncan, iv. 348.
..... John, iv. 344, 367.
..... John, of That Ilk, iii. 268.
.... Minister of Aberlour, ii. 290.
.... at Mortlach, ii. 258.
..... Wat, of That Ilk, iii. 268.
Trabroun, David, Notary, iv. 729.
Traill, Alexander, Reader at Cruden, i. 230.
..... Thomas, Canon of Aberdeen, i. 502.
Trauerty, Jacobus, Burgensis de Aberdeen, iii. 64.
Trewnot, John, ii. 38.
Trockelawe, Robert of, ii. 298.
Troup, of That Ilk, i. 488.
..... Hamelinus de, i. 491.
..... Hector, Notary, iv. 109.
..... John, i. 113, 497.
.... of Comolegy, i. 290, 315; iii. 33, 257, 446, 553; iv. 38.
..... Richard, iv. 109.
..... William, of That Ilk, i. 304.
.... of Balnacraig, iii. 520.
.... of Pittendrigh, iii. 557.
Trumbill, David, ii. 251.
Trumpet, Andreas, iv. 506.
Tulicultry, Clericus de, Matheus, iv. 698.
Tullidaff, Alexander, of That Ilk, i. 356, 389, 390, 478; iii. 47, 303, 437; iv. 78.
.... of Ranestoun, i. 115; iv. 762.
Tullidaff, Alexander, of Taartie, iii. 89
..... Andrew, ii. 354.
.... of That Ilk, i. 290, 396; iii. 29, 33, 47, 52, 64, 90, 94, 103, 126, 151, 170, 257, 276, 335, 340, 375, 384, 408, 437, 446, 448, 449, 450, 551, 553, 563, 591; iv. 37, 94, 121, 442.
.... of Ranestoun, i. 577; ii. 366; iv. 100, 232, 498.
.... of Rothmaise, iii. 429.
.... of Shettocksley, iii. 216.
.... Burgess of Aberdeen, iii. 272,; iv. 575.
..... Gilbert, Burgess of Aberdeen, iii. 216.
..... John, of Rothmaise, iii. 429.
..... William, of Rothmaise, iii. 429.
Tullo, Thomas, i. 396.
Tulloch, Alexander, ii. 296, 309; iii. 63, 64.
.... of Moncoffir, iii. 94, 126, 170, 193, 221, 342, 384, 519, 533, 563; iv. 111, 121.
..... David, iii. 517; iv. 183.
..... John, i. 117.
..... Thomas, of Bonytoun, iv. 638.
.... of Moncoffir, iv. 469.
..... Walter, i. 288, 426; iii. 93.
.... of Bonyngtoun, i. 427.
..... Walterus de, Patronus de Tulloch, iii. 262.
..... William, iv. 638.
Tulyberg, Angusius de, iii. 263.
Turing of Foveran, i. 71, 364, 366.
..... Adam, i. 196.

Turing, Andrew, iii. 96.
.... of Foveran, i. 290, 344, 345, 380; iii. 93, 96, 263.
..... Arthur, ii. 435.
..... Gilbert, of Foveran, iii. 94.
..... James, Burgess of Edinburgh, ii. 102, 175.
..... John, iii. 334.
.... of Foveran, i. 356; ii. 429; iii. 93, 94, 96, 303; iv. 78, 90, 92.
..... Sir John, of Foveran, i. 365.
..... Robert, of Foveran, iii. 35, 85.
..... Thomas, iii. 95.
..... William, ii. 429; iii. 95.
.... of Ardocht, ii. 435.
.... of Foveran, i. 113, 114, 290, 315; ii. 11; iii. 20, 29, 33, 52, 53, 64, 65, 78, 90, 93, 94, 103, 151, 156, 193, 257, 276, 315, 340, 375, 384, 408, 421, 448, 449, 519, 533, 536, 551, 553, 563, 590, 591, 592; iv. 38, 40, 50, 111.
.... of Tibirtaw, i. 396.
Turnbule, Willelmus, iii. 93.
Turner of Turnerhall, i. 111, 307, 308.
..... Hector, iii. 23.
Turphyky, Ricardus de, iv. 378.
Turribus, Eustachius de, iv. 698.
..... Johannes de, i. 502.
.... Miles, iv. 728.
Turriff, Abbot of Cormac, iv. 549.
Tuscheth, Simon, i. 625.
Twinam, Thomas of, iv. 188.
..... Walterus de, Cancellarius Regni, ii. 340.
Twynane, Walterus de, iv. 712.
Tynningham, Adam de, see Aberdeen, Bishop of.
Tynningham, Thomas de, iv. 118.
.... see Aberdeen, Archdeacon of.
.... Canon of Aberdeen, iv. 378.
Tyrie of Dunnideer, i. 554, 555.
..... David of Dunnideer, iii. 403.
..... Johannes, Clericus Sancti Andree Diocesis, ii. 211, 213.
..... John of Dunnideer, iii. 403.

Ucherarne, see Ouchtirarne.
Uchiltre, see Ochiltree.
Uchterlony, see Ouchterlonie.
Udayn, Walterus, Ballivus de Banff, ii. 130.
Udny of Udny, i. 111, 360, 366, 368; iv. 383.
..... of Auchterellon, i. 307.
..... Alexander of That Ilk, iii. 111, 112.
.... Reverend, iii. 82 83.
..... Andrew, of Tullery, iii. 35.
..... Duncan, Decanus de Garioch, iii. 223, 402, 485, 486.
..... Gilbert, ii. 436.
..... Henry, of Myness, iv. 232.
..... John, of Dudwick, iii. 49.
.... of Udny, i. 21, 22; iii. 483.
..... Patrick, i. 335.
.... of That Ilk, i. 346; iii. 77.
..... Ranald, ii. 11, 12; iv. 50.
.... of That Ilk, iii. 14, 52, 77, 78, 79, 84, 193, 221, 276, 340, 385, 408, 449, 450, 534, 551, 590, 592.
..... Robert, of Auchterellon, iii. 49.

Udny, William, of That Ilk, i. 115, 346, 349; iii. 14, 52, 77, 78, 79, 83, 94, 103, 126, 170, 193, 221, 237, 276, 302, 335, 340, 385, 449, 450, 516, 534, 551; iv. 78, 90, 121.
.... Junior, iv. 90.
Ugstoun, see Ogston.
Umfraville, Robertus de, ii. 43.
Upellars, Bernardus de, i. 299.
Urcane, Nicolas de, ii. 284.
Urquhart, Prior of, Thomas, ii. 153, 155, 282, 283, 304.
.... William, ii. 159.
..... of Meldrum, i. 111, 558, 559.
..... Adam, iv. 84.
.... of Meldrum, iii. 414, 415, 416, 468.
.... Sheriff of Cromarty, i. 483; ii. 390; iii. 526, 530, 531, 532.
..... Alexander, ii. 433.
.... of Cromarty, iii. 533, 534.
..... Sir Alexander, of Cromarty, i. 558.
..... Arthur, ii. 406.
..... Donald, Notary, iii. 557; iv. 684.
..... James, of Byth, i. 489.
..... John, i. 483.
.... of Craigfintray, i. 481, 558; ii. 370; iii. 89.
.... of Culbo, iii. 542, 556, 557.
.... of Meldrum, iii. 414, 416.
..... Patrick, of Jakistoun, ii. 370.
.... of Lethinty, iii. 468.
..... Sir Thomas, i. 481.
Urquhart, Thomas, i. 118.
.... see Ross, Archdeacon of.
.... of Cromarty, ii. 366; iii. 533, 534.
.... Sheriff of Cromarty, iv. 656.
..... William, ii. 222.
Urrie, General, i. 586.
..... of Pitfichie, i. 586, 607.
..... Andrew, i. 513.
..... David, of Pitfichie, iii. 501.
..... George, of Pitfichie, iii. 501.
..... Gilbert, i. 512.
.... of Pitfichie, iii. 501.
..... John, Knight, iii. 501.
.... of Pitfichie, iii. 501.
..... William, of Pitfichie, iii. 14, 33, 450, 491, 492, 493, 501; iv. 40, 95.
Urwell, James, Reader at Rhynie, ii. 152.
..... John, Notary, iii. 136.
Usser, Thomas le, iv. 149.
..... Willelmus, Dominus tertiae partis de Estirbalnatuthil, i. 392.
Uthach, Reginaldus de, i. 196.
Uthred, iii. 5.

Vacellinus, Willelmus, i. 625.
Vaial, Willelmus de, i. 547.
Valentine, Johannes, Clericus Parochialis de Leochell, iv. 347.
..... Thomas, iv. 347.
Valle, Grifinus de, ii. 155, 193.
Vallibus, Johannes de, i. 249, 258; ii. 56, 109, 136; iv. 117.
Valoniis, Philippus de, Camerarius Regis Willelmi, i. 336, 624; ii. 27, 55, 119, 233.

Valoniis, Rogerus de, ii. 54.
..... Willelmus de, ii. 119.
Vaus, Alexander, Laird of Many, iii. 278.
.... Prebendary of Dulmayok, i. 347.
.... Official of Aberdeen, iii. 369, 528.
..... Andrew, iii. 150.
..... David, Vicar of Banff, iii. 358.
.... Vicar of Inverbundy, iii, 259.
..... Gilbert, i. 290, 291; iii. 513.
.... of Achnawis, iii. 143.
.... of Many, i. 396; iii. 408; iv. 35, 90.
.... Baillie of Aberdeen, ii. 328; iii. 274.
..... John, i. 307, 485; iii. 7, 258; iv. 188, 207, 454.
.... of Many, iv. 482.
.... Professor of Humanity, i. 65, 66.
.... Burgess of Aberdeen, i. 393; iii. 144.
.... Notary, iii. 527.
..... Magnus, ii. 225, 251.
..... Patrick, i. 396.
..... Richard, i. 485, 514; iv. 212, 261.
.... of Fyndon, i. 307, 356; iii. 7, 258.
.... of Many, i. 356, 360; iii. 336.
.... Burgess of Aberdeen, iii. 475.
..... Thomas, iii. 259
.... see Glasgow, Dean of.
.... Baillie, iv. 42.
Vaus, Walter, ii. 364; iii. 129.
..... William, i. 307.
Vaux, Sir John, iv. 608.
..... William, ii. 130, 146.
Veriment, Ricardus, ii. 24.
Vesci, Eustace de, ii. 398.
..... Willelmus de, i. 561.
Vipont, William, ii. 397; iv. 599.
Vitorbambe, Jacobus, Ballivus de Banff, ii. 130.
Vocat, Johannes, iv. 88.
.... Burgensis de Aberdeen, i. 393; iii. 272.
Vyuilla, Willelmus de, ii. 303.

Waan of Stenstoun, i. 304.
Wacht, Andreas, ii. 355.
Wadinus, scutifer Johannis Byseth, ii. 143, 144.
Walchopp, Alanus de, ii. 55.
..... Robertus de, iii. 113.
Waldevus, Clericus, i. 624.
Wale, Sire Thomas, Chevaler, ii. 30.
Walhand, Willelmus, Monachus de Lindores, iii. 394, 410.
Walkeden, Galfridus, iv. 108.
Walkelinus filius Stephani, i. 247, 625.
Walker, Alexander, of Torryleith, iii. 85.
..... Andrew, iv. 123.
..... James, Reader at Forbes, i. 229.
..... John, iii. 367; iv. 347.
..... Richard, i. 394.
..... Thomas, iv. 348.
..... Willelmus, marus feodi, iii. 367.
..... Sir William, iv. 577.

Walker, William, i. 495, 508; ii. 190, 436; iv. 586, 658, 688.
.... Chaplain, iv. 648.
Walkingham, Johan de, ii. 30.
Wallace, Andrew, i. 394.
..... Duncan, ii. 43.
.... Knight, iv. 160.
..... Hugh, i. 426.
..... James, iv 347.
..... Dr. John, Roman Catholic Bishop, ii. 268.
..... John, i. 426.
.... of Colp, iii. 512.
..... Thomas, iii. 70.
.... of Colp, iii. 512.
.... Notary, iii. 510, 530.
.... Prebendary of Unthank, ii. 168.
.... Vicar of Spyny, ii. 225, 251.
..... Sir William, i. 42, 329, 527.
Walschot, Robertus, Sub-prior fratrum predicatorum de Aberdeen, iii. 169.
Walter, Parson of Fyvie, ii. 327.
Walterus, Capellanus, ii. 120, 303.
.... Andree Episcopi Moraviensis, ii. 286.
.... Mathei Episcopi Aberdonensis, i. 292, 293.
.... Regis, ii. 41.
.... Ricardi Episcopi Aberdonensis, i. 562.
.... Willelmi Regis, ii. 191, 192.
..... Clericus, i. 625.
..... Cementarius, i. 624.
..... Diaconus Edwardi Episcopi Aberdonensis, ii. 16.
Walterus, filius Alani, iv. 74.
.... Senescallus, ii. 138, 397.
.... Justiciarius Scotiæ, ii. 136.
.... Scotiæ, ii. 284; iv. 698.
..... filius Malot, ii. 130.
.... Sybaldi, i. 566; ii. 55.
..... Officialis, i. 247.
..... Persona de Fyvie, i. 292.
..... Rector de Fovern, i. 470.
..... Senescallus Scotiæ, i. 379; ii. 106; iii. 292, 293, 313, 317; iv. 612, 760.
Waluchop, Alanus de, i. 298; iii. 337.
..... Robertus de, i. 298, 299; iii. 337, 338.
Wantone, William, ii. 434.
Wardlaw, Jacobus, iv. 462.
..... Johannes, de Riccartoune, iii. 465, 466.
Wardrop, Alexander, de Gothynys, i. 575, 576.
..... Thomas, de Gothynys, i. 574, 575.
Warini, Willelmus filius, constabularius castri de Urghard, iv. 703.
Wartria, Nicolas de, Praepositus de Aberbrothock, iii. 178.
Warwiche, Ricardus de, ii. 21.
Wascelin, Willelmus, i. 247.
Watervile, Galfridus de, i. 247.
Watson, Alexander, Notary, iii. 37; iv. 280.
..... Andrew, i. 424; ii. 395.
..... Archibald, Reader at Glenmuick, i. 229.
..... James, iv. 683.

Watson, James, Notary, iii. 594.
..... John, i. 517.
.... of Archorthy, iii. 99.
.... of Caprastoun, iii. 197.
.... Parson of Clatt, iii. 206, 354.
.... Reader at Aberchirder, i. 229.
..... Robert, i. 541; iv. 447, 678.
.... of Caprastoun, iii. 197.
..... Thomas, iv. 474, 475.
..... Walter, i. 382.
..... William, iv. 640.
.... of Caprastoun, iii. 197, 198.
.... of Haddo, i. 424.
.... Minister of Leslie, i. 545.
Watt, Alexander, iv. 347.
..... Arthur, Advocate, iv. 676.
..... David, iv. 347, 456.
..... Malcolm, iv. 347.
..... Michael, ii. 434.
Wauchop, Sir Adam, i. 291.
..... Alan, i. 291.
Wauss, See Vaus.
Wawane, Bartholomeus, iv. 169.
..... Bertilmo, iii. 12.
..... Jacobus, de Oyne, Canonicus Aberdonensis, i. 310.
.... Rector de Oyne, iii. 66, 352.
.... Notarius, ii. 365.
..... James, Prebendary of Ellon, ii. 365.
..... William, i. 301.
.... Official of Lothian, iii. 12.
Webster, John, Monk of Lindores, iii. 391.
Weddall, Andreas, ii. 237, 366.
..... Henricus de, Clericus, iv. 728.
.... Notarius, iv. 162, 164.
..... Johannes, Officialis Sancti Andree, ii. 357.
Wedderburne, David, i. 56, 57, 60-66.
..... Robert, iii. 597.
..... Frater Willelmus, iii. 251.
..... William, i. 60.
Weir, Frater Thomas, iii. 119; iv. 29.
Wells, Galfridus de, Vicarius de Tarves, i. 335; iii. 57.
..... Hugh, Parson of Durris, i. 145, 353; iv. 385.
.... Vicar of Nigg, i. 261.
..... Patricius, Præpositus de Perth, iv. 120.
Welsh, Thomas, Senior, iv. 734.
.... Junior, iv. 734,
Wemys, David, i. 551.
.... of Auchlevin, iii. 397, 398.
..... Duncan, iii. 143; iv. 188.
..... Isabella, Domina de Pitsligo, iv. 439, 440.
..... James, of That Ilk, i. 551.
.... of Ret, iii. 35.
..... Sir John, iv. 188.
..... John, of That Ilk, knight, iii. 397.
..... Sir Patrick, of Reras, i. 437.
..... Thomas, i. 393; iii. 143; iv. 190, 196.
.... of Reras, knight, iv. 407, 408.
Weschell, Archibald, i. 579.
Westland, Henry, Reader at Kildrymmie, i. 230.

Westray, Michael de, Miles, i. 373.
Whellar, Ricardus, iv. 108.
White, Alexander, iii. 119.
..... Henry, ii. 402.
.... Parson of Fynnevin, ii. 45.
..... Johannes, Deputatus Director Cancellariæ, iii. 581.
..... John, Reader at Gemrye, i. 230.
..... William, iii. 25.
.... of Aberdour, i. 437.
Whitecors, Friar John, iii. 196.
Whitehead, Alexander, iv. 593.
Whitewells, Henricus, iii. 389, 496.
Whitlaw, Archibald, Archdeacon of Lothian, iii. 52, 102, 115, 164, 180, 224, 232, 241, 276, 314, 347, 348, 357, 398, 417, 511, 515, 580; iv. 63, 214, 216, 357.
.... See Lothian, Archdeacon of.
.... Dean of Dunbar, ii. 315; iv. 593.
.... Sub-dean of Glasgow, ii. 316.
Wichtirlys, Walterus de, ii. 191, 192.
Wight, John, Prior of Dominican, Monastery at Aberdeen, i. 202.
Wigmar, Robertus, Miles, i. 502.
Wildleshoures, Walter of, ii. 397.
Wilie, John, Exhorter at Kintore, &c., i. 228.
Will, George, ii. 433; iv. 127.
..... Patricius, ii. 237, 365.
..... Thomas, ii. 369.
Willelmi, Andreas, iv. 324.
Willelmus, Canonicus, ii. 18.
.... de Aberdeen, i. 565; ii. 21.
Willelmus, Canonicus Moraviensis, ii. 170, 287, 288, 304.
..... Capellanus, i. 292, 567, 624; ii. 17, 19, 120, 121; iii. 5.
.... Mathei Episcopi Aberdonensis, i. 154, 292, 293.
.... Willelmi Regis, ii. 191.
.... de Tarualont, ii. 19.
..... Clericus Adam Episcopi Aberdonensis, i. 565; ii. 18, 21, 121.
.... Constabularius de Dundee, iii. 125.
.... Mathei Episcopi Aberdonensis, ii. 120.
.... Radulfi Episcopi Aberdonensis, i. 568.
..... Dispensator, ii. 287.
..... Filius Alani, i. 196.
.... Duncani, ii. 302, 303.
.... Freskini, ii. 129, 233, 234.
.... Hugonis, i. 154; ii. 120, 121.
.... Lambini, i. 567.
.... Orm, ii. 428.
.... Stephani, i. 564.
.... Walteri, iv. 160.
..... Frater Ricardi Episcopi, ii. 282, 284.
..... Monachus de Aberbrothock, i. 566.
..... Persona, i. 154.
.... de Aberdeen, i. 293; ii. 120, 121.
.... de Edendyuy, ii. 157, 158.
.... de Fetherner, i. 527; ii. 139.
..... Vicarius de Dundurkus, ii. 287

Willelmus, Vicecomes de Karel, iv. 691, 692.
William the Lion, King of Scots, i. 42, 44, 91, 127, 146, 147, 153, 161, 192, 203, 246, 247, 256, 292, 334, 341, 378, 420, 489, 496, 510, 560, 602, 603, 619, 624, 625, 626; ii. 15, 27, 42, 54, 55, 119, 128, 136, 142, 143, 190, 191, 192, 230, 234, 235, 276, 322, 327, 337, 363, 397; iii. 60, 177; iv. 147, 486, 536, 691, 693.
..... III., King of Great Britain, i. 570; iii. 355, 390, 415.
William, Jacobus, Capellanus, iii. 149.
..... Parson of Aberdour, ii. 373.
..... Robert, ii. 367.
..... Sub-dean of Murray, ii. 195, 284.
Williamson, Donald, iv. 625.
..... James, Notary, iv. 33.
..... John, of Hauches of Stralay, iv. 471, 782.
..... Robert, Monk of Lindores, iii. 391, 394, 410.
..... Thomas, Burgess of Kintore, iii. 238.
Willok, Jacobus, ii. 326.
Wilson of Phinzeach, i. 619.
..... Sir James, i. 302.
..... John, ii. 211, 212; iv. 496.
.... Reader at Aberchirder, ii. 151.
.... Reader at Cruden, i. 229.
..... William, Canon of Monymusk, iii. 489, 492, 493.
Wilton, Johannes de, iii. 402; iv. 694.
..... Robertus de, i. 561.
Wiltona, Rogerus de, ii. 17, 20.
Wilyem, Allesona, iv. 347.
Winchester, Mr., Roman Catholic Bishop, ii. 267.
..... Tiberius, Capellanus Moraviensis, ii. 187.
Winsister, Florence, Exhorter at Aberchirder, i. 229; ii. 151.
Winton, Alexander, of Andat, i. 321; ii. 11; iii. 55, 57, 64, 90, 103, 221, 260, 335, 371, 418, 448, 516, 536, 585, 586, 589, 591, 592; iv. 50.
..... Andrew, Burgess of Aberdeen, iii. 585.
..... David, of Andat, i. 321, 344, 345.
..... Ingeram of, ii. 74; iv. 176, 719.
.... of Andat, i. 321; iv. 198, 708.
..... James, i. 282, 514; iii. 586.
..... John, i. 541, 542; iii. 582.
.... of Andat, i. 541; iii. 585, 586.
.... of Rylands, iii. 585, 586.
..... Patrick, of Rylands, iii. 585.
..... Ranald, of Andat, iv. 70.
..... William, of Rylands, iii. 585, 586.
Wiseman, Alexander, ii. 252.
..... Andrew, ii. 282, 283.
..... James, iii. 581.
..... Richard, iv. 389.
..... Thomas, Vicecomes de Elgin, ii. 195.
..... William, ii. 159, 282.
..... William, Notary, ii. 168, 225, 250, 251, 252.

Wiseman, William, Vicar of Keith, ii. 243.
Wishart, James, of Petarow, iv. 35.
..... John, iv. 726.
...., Knight, i. 277, 625; ii. 332.
.... of Petarow, iii. 128, 244, 245.
..... W., iv. 697.
Wolok, St., i. 128, 129, 130, 632; ii. 181.
Wood of Colpnay, i. 285.
..... Andrew, i. 118.
.... of Colpnay, i. 115.
.... of Fothorkerne, ii. 354, 355; iii. 473.
.... of Fynnerce, iii. 305; iv. 469.
.... of Overblaretoun, iii. 47, 212, 214, 361.
.... Monk of Lindores, iii. 394, 410.
..... James, i. 303.
..... Frater Johannes, iii. 169.
..... John, iii. 425, 582, 583; iv. 456.
.... of Bawbegno, iii. 47.
.... of Fynnerce, iii. 305.
.... of Mill of Fintray, iv. 762.
.... of Milltoun of Fintray, iv. 147.
.... Notary, iii. 101; iv. 469.
..... Thomas, iv. 637.
.... Burgess of Aberdeen, iii. 452.
.... Monk of Lindores, iii. 391.
..... Walter, iii. 46, 47.
Wood, Walter, of Bonyntoun, iii. 303.
..... William, iii. 227.
.... of Bonyntoun, iii. 33, 35.
.... of Mill of Fintray, iii. 424, 425.
Woodman, John, iv. 657.
..... William, i. 437.
Wormat, Johannes, iv. 45.
.... Burgensis de Aberdeen, iii. 11, 146, 147, 366.
..... Willelmus, Burgensis de Aberdeen, iii. 475.
Wostuatter, Robertus, Monachus de Lundoris, iii. 394, 410.
Wright, Alexander, Chaplain, iii. 392.
.... Monk of Lindores, iii. 394, 410.
.... Notary, iii. 490.
..... Johannes, Constabularius de Falkland, ii. 36.
..... Thomas, iii. 48.
..... Walterus, capellanus, i. 576.
Wrke, Jacobus, capellanus, iv. 63.
Wshill, Andrew, iv. 478.
Wymeth, Archibaldus de, ii. 169.
Wynde, Johannes, Marus Capitalis Vicecomitatus de Aberdeen, i. 232, 233.
.... Marus de feodo de Aberdeen, iii. 263.
Wys, Robert, Canon of Aberdeen, iv. 378.
Wytby, John of, Prebendary of Kynor, ii. 168.
Wyth, Alexander, iii. 30.

Ydill, Walterus, Officialis Aberdonensis, iii. 322, 461.
Yett, David, iv 104.